

GREEN LETTER



Greener Times



What is Progress?

Spring 1990

Inside: News from the Green Committees of Correspondence

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Green Letter

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Note: This issue of *Green Letter* is a special edition. We have added 25 pages to support the development of a Green CoC program. (*Green Letter* usually ranges from 32 to 48 pages.)

A letter from Green Letter: changes afoot

Dear Readers:

Green Letter In Search of Greener Times is dedicated to building an effective Green Movement that transforms the institutions, politics and culture of the U.S. into those of a society that honors the ten key values of the Green Committees of Correspondence (GCoC). These are Ecological Wisdom, Decentralization, Respect for Diversity, Non-violence, Personal and Social Responsi-

bility, Global Responsibility, Grassroots Democracy, Post-Patriarchal Values, Community-Based Economics, Future Focus / Sustainability.

The GCoC was founded in summer 1984, and has grown into a vital grassroots movement that spans the country with over 200 chapters. *Green Letter* has been publishing since spring 1984, covering the developments of the Greens internationally and domestically.

A Struggle on Two Fronts

The Greening of Nicaragua

John Vandermeer

[Based on a paper presented at the Rethinking Marxism Conference, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Nov. 1989.]

The Nicaraguan revolutionaries who seized the plaza on the 19th of July, 1979 were filled with dreams, with hope, with defiance. Their country, ruthlessly retained in a condition of underdevelopment for so long, had been released. There were new, previously unimagined, visions of development, equality, dignity, advancement — in short, a dream of progress, a hope that progress denied would soon be theirs, a defiance that progress would be measurable despite unexpected antagonisms from that arch nemesis, Tio Sam.

Much like the rest of the Third World, the newly powerful Sandinistas had a vision of progress that differed little from the schoolbook description of the industrial revolution, and their early plans, rarely realized in practice, reflected an unrealistic optimism for technology of a typically European sort. But within the ranks of these revolutionaries was a new revolution, influenced partly by the greens of Europe, partly by environmentalists from the north, and, most importantly, by the personal experience of some particularly observant and thoughtful Nicaraguans. This revolution within the revolution was to challenge the standard Western notion of progress, especially as it related to class differences, gender differences, and exploitation of the environment. Is it true progress, they asked, if elites benefit disproportionately from "progress?" They answered with a resounding no. But they went on to query, is it progress if the environment of future generations is to be degraded so as to enrich the coffers of those who happen to be alive today? And that was revolutionary.

Despite the "revolution within the Revolution," Nicaragua today appears surprisingly similar to the other countries of the Central American isthmus. Much of its land is severely damaged, that which is not is rapidly becoming so, and the future looks bleak. The overuse and misuse of pesticides, while not as dramatic as in El Salvador and Guatemala, is nevertheless severe. Unplanned sprawling shantytowns, the prob-

lem of urbanization, while mild in comparison to Guatemala City or San Salvador, leaves Managuan neighborhoods without water twice a week. Soil erosion, while not as visibly striking as in some areas of Honduras, proceeds at alarming rates in the provinces of Chinandega and León. Such problems continue unabated, and there is not much in the way of hope for the immediate future.

Given impressive advances in other areas, a fundamentally sound ecological philosophy of development, and excellent development plans already in place, why is it that environmental deterioration continues?

There are two obvious explanations:

first, there is a legacy that derives from many years of imperial domination of the country, and second, subsequent to the triumph of the 1979 revolution, imperialism has been engaged in a counterattack of immense proportions, the contra war. Both are to blame for Nicaragua's continuing environmental crisis.

The Legacy of Imperialism

Symptoms of imperialism's legacy abound in Nicaragua. First, and perhaps foremost for the short term, is the lack of a

see *Nicaragua* p. 34



"Above all, where there is no vision we lose the sense of our great power to transcend history and create a new future for ourselves with others,...Therefore the quest is not a luxury; life itself demands it of us!"

—Vincent Harding

A Vision

If we can imagine it, we can create it. Trust is to society what oil is to machinery. Imagine a world that ran on trust rather than oil. Imagine a world where we've learned how to be honest with ourselves, and to each other...where the only safe way of being is to be honest. Imagine a world where respect was sacred, where intuitions, spirituality, and emotions were all as valued as the intellect.

Imagine a society that was in synchrony with the cycles of nature, where human life was sustained on renewable sources of energy as is the rest of nature, where the earth is cherished, and whatever is taken out is returned. Imagine knowing that there would always be a place for you, your family, your community, your descendants, and your species—a place on earth. Imagine how it feels to always belong—belong in a diversified community, for it is the diversity in nature that gives the web of life its strength and cohesion. Imagine a time where everyone welcomes diversity in people because they know that is what gives community its richness, its strength, its cohesion. Imagine being able to relax into our connectedness—into a web of mutually suppor-

see *Vision* p. 39

A new book by Carolyn Merchant

Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science In New England

reviewed by Steve Nadel

The events of the past year, whether in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, have finally and totally subverted previous definitions of progress. Predictability, the certainty of ever forward and upward advance, models of determinism and control have been challenged. The nature of social progress has become questionable and open to new constructions. However, these concepts of progress have been rooted in 19th century ideals of scientific progress, and it is only recently that the models of scientific progress have been equally challenged.

Agriculture was the first form of human labor subject to the scientific and industrial revolutions. Green, third world, indigenous peoples and many other activists have challenged the outcome of these agricultural revolutions, and the resultant land distribution, hunger and ecological problems. However, little research has been done from a Green perspective on the process of agriculture development in North America.

Ecological Revolutions by Carolyn Merchant is one of the most thorough accounts of development of American agriculture and society. Its perspective of the interaction of

worldviews of science, nature and progress, with colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy provides a new rigor to Green theory.

Subtitled, "Nature, Gender and Science In New England," this new work traces the parallel revolutions of world views, social structures and their ecological consequences. For Merchant, ecological revolutions are the processes through which societies construct their relationship with nature. Starting with the indigenous peoples of New England, Merchant follows their replacement by Puritan settlers. As the new colonies enlarge and are incorporated into Britain's mercantile empire, the subsistence farm is replaced by market orientation.

U.S. independence and the rise of 19th century science provide the setting for the full development of capitalist agriculture, with a gender division of labor between male oriented market activities and women oriented home and socialization. The ecological impacts of these social and conceptual revolutions are traced by Merchant, concluding with the hopes for a modern Green ecological revolution to a sustainable relationship with nature.

For the indigenous peoples within the New England colonies all natural elements were equal and alive subjects. Indigenous consciousness and relationship to nature was "mimetic", i.e. used all human senses to mirror and mimic nature in human activities such as hunting, gathering and agriculture. This consciousness raised minimal barriers between human and nature.

The Puritan world views still saw nature as animate, but as a fertile Mother providing sustenance for the use of the Father's (God's) children. The Earth began to be viewed as a commodity subject to the exploitation of the just and virtuous hard working farmer.

The enclosure of land as private property and the concurrent role of inheritance laws started the transformation from agriculture as a social to a family centered process.

This was also a transformation from a subsistence to a market oriented economy. These parallel changes were the foundation for the growth of sharp gender divisions in the agricultural families.

Originally, colonial agriculture had been based upon rotating crops, fallow fields, and woodlots. Growing land demand and declin-

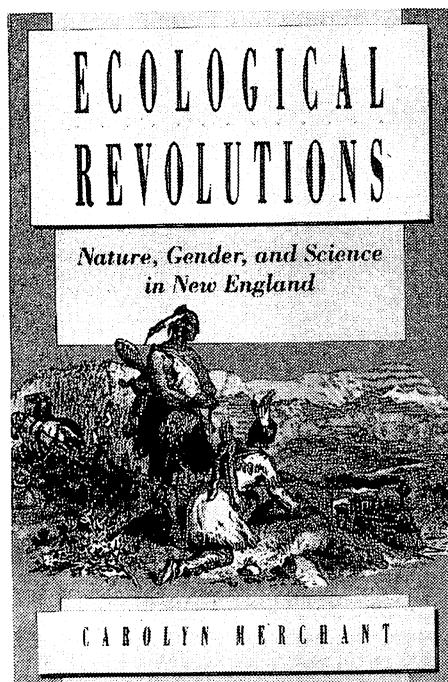
"In the ecological model, humans are neither helpless victims nor arrogant dominators of nature, but active participants in the destiny of the webs of which they are a part."

ing land fertility became increasing problems in the early 19th century, just as expanding national markets created demands that outstripped the capacity of subsistence farming. As lands were overused and lost their fertility, new fields were sought further inland. Land hunger and expanding domestic and foreign markets resulted in a colonial ecological revolution which destroyed the sustainability of indigenous agriculture.

Growing demand resulted in ecological destruction as the rate of forest clearing and the intensity of land use increased. New scientific concepts of fertilization and mechanized agriculture became the new consciousness, along with market driven modes of profit calculation. Marketplace domination of agriculture required a consciousness which dominated nature, subject to calculations based upon maximizing profits.

Mechanistic science provided the tools to control a passive nature. External manipulation of nature by man replaced earlier indigenous and colonial conceptions of humanity as part of nature. Nature was a commodity to be mapped and parcelled out like all others; analyzed, quantified and extracted for profit. Conservation was no longer driven by long term family sustenance, but by market considerations of steady supply

see Merchant p. 39



A Redress of Progress

David Kubrin

It is nearly impossible for us to formulate clear notions of "progress," because that beguiling notion has been historically tied to a form of technology, which increasingly is revealed as ecologically disastrous. Our age-old romance with that technology and the unquestioned assumptions we make about it lie far too deep for us to hope for much comprehension of what progress should really look like.

We never question, for example, whether recent technologies are better than older ones, implicitly identifying the development of newer technologies and techniques with progress. Are these assumptions justified? In fact, a convincing case might be made that the reverse is true. There are a number of older technologies, significant ones, that we simply cannot equal today. The classic example, somewhat widely known, is the colors of medieval stained glass windows, which are now impossible to duplicate; but there are other medieval and ancient craft techniques in metal and wood, as well as glass, that cannot be reproduced by today's craftsmen and women. (I am arguing technology and craftskill, not social system here.)

In prehistoric times, cultures across the globe erected numerous structures whose

"We never question...
whether recent technologies are better than older
ones...."

purposes have always been mystifying (though ignorance did not prevent scholars from rashly concluding that the bulk of these structures were burial sites—often in the absence of any human remains). Most people are now aware that Stonehenge had important astronomical functions, but few realize that the same was true of the Great Pyramid and numerous other artificial mounds, terrestrial land carvings (some of them tens of miles in length), temples, and numerous other "sacred sites" throughout the world. Modern investigations have shown that various sites are additionally associated with

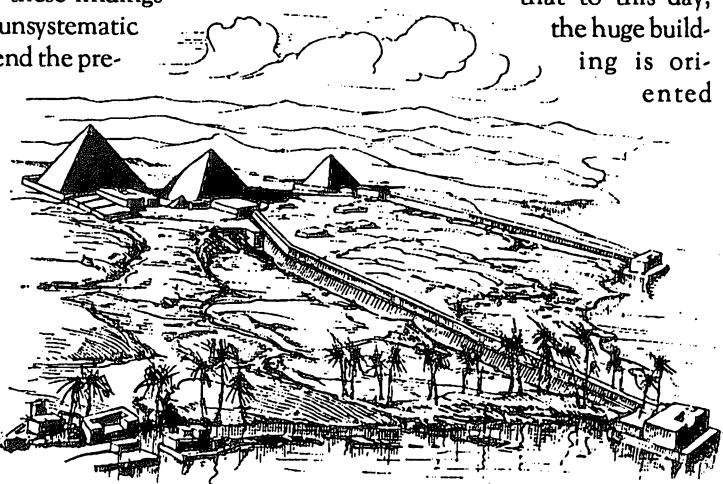
striking geophysical and other irregularities, including earthquake fault lines, underground water courses, anomalous magnetism, gravitational variations, atypical radioactive patterns, ultrasound phenomena, and a mysterious light form that defies explanation. Though much of these findings are still too recent and unsystematic to allow us to comprehend the precise way these sites were used in archaic times, it is clear that the ancients who built them were aware of an array of terrestrial behaviors and properties of which we ourselves have at best but a slight glimmering (Devereux, Steele, and Kubrin, *Earthmind: a modern adventure in ancient wisdom*, Harper & Row, 1989).

Even more, it is clear that many of these sites, 4000 or more years old, some of them, were erected on the basis of a complex mathematical pattern that allowed the construction of "circles" having a rational relation between diameter and "circumference"—unlike our circles, where we must use a problematic and intellectually disquieting π (whose value can never be accurately stated) to get from diameter to circumference or area.

Imagine, if you can, our present technological society trying to build the Great Pyramid today. Think of Bechtel Corporation being awarded the contract (as is likely, should such an insane project be initiated in these times). They couldn't do it! For both social and technological reasons, their efforts undoubtedly would fail miserably. This building that has stood over 4000 years simply mocks our society, incapable of building a single structure of any complexity today that is not in need of serious repairs within a decade or less.

Consider only that the two and a half million stones of the Pyramid (each weighing from 2 to 70 tons) are fitted so that the joints are not visible, with an average thick-

ness of only 1/50 inch of mortar; one cannot even slip an exceedingly thin sheet into the cracks. Or consider that its mysterious passages somehow, through searing desert daytime heat and stunning evening cold, maintain a constant 68°F. Or, finally, consider that to this day, the huge building is oriented

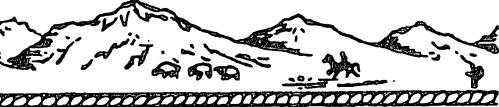


to the four cardinal directions with an accuracy never equalled by any other structure in the world. Once more, I should be clear, the argument here is on technique and knowledge of materials, not whose social system is superior, but readers should be aware that the assumption that the Pyramid was built with slave labor has no real proof—it is a projection primarily of our own understanding.

Given a contract to build such a complex, our Bechtel would have to spend months, if not years, simply working out details of subcontracts with the many firms to which they would have to parcel out the project. Labs would be set up especially to develop mortar capable of keeping stones in place through countless day- and night-time extremes of desert temperatures and the vagaries of tectonic forces. Another research effort would be initiated to find the ideal rock for a project of such magnitude, complexity, and subtlety. Elaborate computer simulation would be enlisted to come to optimal—and cost-effective—solutions to those and other challenges.

Meanwhile, undoubtedly payoffs would occur. Our culture, it turns out, knows a

see *Progress* p. 40



Ladakh: Progress Comes

INTRODUCTION

Ladakh is a high-altitude desert in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. In summer, the land is parched and dry; in winter, it is frozen solid. In this barren wilderness nothing grows wild. Not the smallest shrub, hardly a blade of grass. Yet here, a people has for more than a thousand years not only made a living, but prospered. Channelling water down from snow-fed streams, they have formed oases in the desert and established a remarkable culture.

The entire region supports a population of just 120,000, the vast majority of whom live in small, isolated villages among the mountains. Leh, the capital, is the only major population center, with some 6000 inhabitants. More than ninety percent of the people own their own land. They keep a few animals for food and burden. Grain surpluses are traded for wool or luxury items.

Ladakhi villages are models of self-reliance. Each family provides for itself all the necessities of life, while a number of specialists serve the community as whole. With few exceptions the Ladakhis are well housed, clothed and fed. In the traditional villages, crime is virtually unknown.

Over the centuries the people have maintained a delicate balance with their environment. Resources were used to the utmost that nature could tolerate, but no further. And there was no waste. Everything was recycled. Even human nightsoil was collected, to serve as fertilizer.

Until 1962, the area was almost totally isolated from the forces of modernization. In that year, however, a road was built by the

Indian Army. Then in 1975 the area was opened to tourism, and the process of "development" got under way.

Helena Norberg-Hodge was one of the first westerners to arrive in Ladakh. Her experiences and observations of the impact of western "development" on the region led her to organize the Ladakh Project, a group dedicated to supporting the traditional culture and to sharing the lessons of that culture with the industrialized world.

(Condensed from the Ladakh Project Report)

GL: What is the view of "progress" from the traditional Ladakh viewpoint?

H: I arrived in Ladakh just after it opened (1975), and learned the language right away. I think I got some inside sense of what their traditional culture was about. The vision of progress had to do with gaining a profound insight into the human psyche, into what makes human beings happy. Their realization was that material acquisition wasn't the answer. Progress was much more how to attain happiness, how to feel contented and at peace.

GL: Was there a sense of material progress, though, of trying to improve agricultural methods, for instance?

H: I think the vision was much more a cyclical one, a sense of balance. The vast majority of people were self-reliant farmers. There wasn't a total disregard for the material. Certainly it was desirable to meet basic needs. But there wasn't an emphasis on "grow more". The goal was balance, an annual return from the soil. If there were excess, you

might invest in making your house a little larger, or in jewelry.

But it's very difficult to explain to a westerner that this state of affairs was not static and boring. In terms of the individual, there was a remarkable scope for creativity and individualism. Individuals were much more attuned to differences in human beings, so much more perceptive about something like the inflection of a person's voice, or their gait. There was a lot of humor, people being very quick to imitate someone, a much sharper perception of nuances.

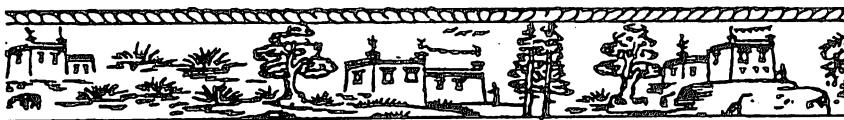
GL: What were the immediate effects of the first onslaught of tourism in 1975?

H: Well, I was one of the first to arrive. I was welcomed, and people were very interested in my culture, but I was treated pretty much as an equal. Very soon after that, as more tourists arrived, the Ladakhis started developing a sense of inferiority. Tourists would come and hand things out to the children, and children soon in effect became beggars. This has a psychological effect, the other culture was seen as so rich, and soon they started describing themselves as poor. Especially the young people started to feel that their culture was inadequate, backwards, poor. In a very uncritical way they wanted to do everything they could to adopt what was modern. Even in industrialized countries, rural people often feel inferior to the urban population. It looks from the outside that urban life is so much easier and cleaner, it looks as if people work much less. The mental stress isn't readily perceived by people who haven't experienced it. It's important that we share some of the experiences of living in the modern world, that it's not all as it looks from the outside.

GL: What were the technological effects on the traditional culture?

H: Well, the typical pattern of development everywhere is to establish the infrastructure—roads, schools, sources of energy. There's only ever been one model of development in modern times. That model assumes that to increase the flow of goods and services is beneficial. It assumes that it makes sense to bring a population of say 90% food producers into this industrial model that has only 3% involved in food production.

So in Ladakh, the same thing happened.



Helena Norberg-Hodge is working on a book prospectively titled *Ladakh: The West Comes to the Himalayas*, which describes the traditional culture and the impact of western "development." The book also describes the role of education in training people away from their own natural resources and local food-producing economy and into roles as consumers.

Helena is available for speaking engagements through the Ladakh Project, PO Box 9475, Berkeley CA 94709.

Graphics courtesy of Ladakh Project. Green Letter interview by George Franklin.

To the Himalayas



*The waste problem in Leh
(graphic by local artist)*

It was mainly for strategic reasons that the road was built. The energy at the beginning was a diesel generator in the capital. Then schools were built to train the population away from local food production and into the urban economy. Suddenly, there was pressure on people. Time became equivalent to money. In the traditional economy people had vastly more leisure time. The actual work of producing food, shelter, and clothing took place in something like four months of the year. For roughly eight months of the year, you had a remarkably rich cultural exchange.

There was suddenly a dramatic centralization of power in the capital (Leh, a city of 6000). The capital was where you could find a job, where the money economy was found. The new economy forced a competition for artificially-scarce resources. Land started to cost money, and the space that people occupied got smaller.

initiated a project to demonstrate solar energy. We started with heating, because heating was one of the most serious problems in the traditional culture. We want to promote more decentralized, renewable resources.

There are also things that can be done to raise the status of the traditional culture, but perhaps more importantly, we want to find examples in the west that support ecological development, for another way of development. It's all being done on a small scale. We haven't turned things around.

Ladakh is somewhat unusual, because it had so little contact until so late (with the developed world). Many people in, say, South America wouldn't identify with what I'm saying. They might ask why we don't work with a local group. In other areas, there has been a consciousness growing for several hundred years around these issues, but in Ladakh and Tibet it was all so new, there wasn't this consciousness. Now there is an

This is not going on because of population pressure. It's artificial, what we call "progress". The assumption is that by living in this different economy based on specialization and on money, you will have a better life. Ladakh shows very clearly that for the majority of people, this development vastly reduces the quality of life. It puts a terrible strain on the environment. Each individual is consuming vastly more resources, and the net result is a lower quality of life.

GL: How did the Ladakh Project begin its work?

H: As I saw the changes occurring, it became obvious that one of the key factors was the role of energy. One of the reasons we have this dramatic centralization is that from the point of view of the planners it looks more efficient to produce energy in one place. If one wants to demonstrate to the Ladakhis and to the world that there is another way to develop, then energy is crucial. So we initiated

emerging consciousness.

GL: How does the question of economic sustainability relate to Ladakh, and what are the implications for other cultures?

H: It relates directly and profoundly to what's happening everywhere in the world, just as much in the least developed areas as in the most developed. Until today, industrial society has been locked into using a way of calculating economic growth that is very outdated. GNP has been used as a measure of a society's welfare, but today this is measuring both social and environmental breakdown and destruction as if it were an increase in social welfare. More crime, new prisons, new mental hospitals, all this adds to the GNP. It's a question of keeping honest books.

Social destruction actually adds to the GNP, for example, if the family breaks down so there is no exchange of services without money. The pressures are to so atomize the individual that every last item becomes commercialized. It's in the interest of economic growth to break down social relationships. Now that's certainly not what any of us would agree is a healthy state of events.

Because GNP measures only social exchange, it considers a society like Ladakh where people are provided in a sustainable way with food, clothing, their own shelter and other needs, without spending a penny, to be the poorest of the poor. So if you have a farming family that has their house, their own land that provides food, clothing from their own animals, their own weaving, everything for free—and if you pull the father and his family into the capital and give him a dollar a day to clean the streets, it shows up as economic growth, as development and progress.

If we recognize natural resources as a type of capital, we would realize that in a very important way, the Ladakhis aren't at all so poor. They have natural resources at their disposal that are providing basic needs in a

see *Ladakh* p. 40



The destruction of indigenous culture TV Brings Cold to the North

Jerry Mander

If you have heard of the Mackenzie River Valley, it is probably because of that Russian nuclear satellite which, in 1978, began falling out of orbit to Earth. People feared it might fall on Paris or New York, so everyone was pleased that it finally crashed in hundreds of pieces along a 300-mile swath in what the press called an "unpopulated icy wasteland" near the Arctic Circle—the Mackenzie Valley in Canada's Northwest Territories. Actually the satellite carried directly over twenty-six communities of Dene Indians and Inuit (Eskimo), whose people have lived there for at least 20,000 years. To call the region "unpopulated" only reveals the degree to which native people remain invisible today. It's not as if the stuff fell on Canadians.

A few years ago I was invited to visit that region to be part of a workshop concerning television. The sponsor was the Native Women's Association of the NWT. The women were worried. The Canadian government has been pushing the native communities to accept *free* satellite dishes. Fifteen of the twenty-six villages had recently consented. The women had noticed star-

ting and disturbing change in those places.

Now keep in mind that this is a region where people still live in a mostly subsistence economy: fishing, hunting, trapping. Some cash is earned from pelts and leather-work (incredible beaded mukluks). And a few men have gone north to the oil rigs to work for wages. But except in the one real town, Yellowknife (pop. 10,000), people live more or less as they have for millennia, in log houses with smoke sheds attached, all the generations together.

Although this is nominally Canada, until

recently, when oil was discovered nearby. Even today, English is not the first language; twenty-two native languages are spoken and some 40 percent of the natives speak no English at all.

"At first I was very enthusiastic about television," one of the women told me upon my arrival. "Many of our communities are hundreds of miles from each other, with no roads connecting us." (There are less than 30 miles of paved road in the entire Northwest Territories.) "The only communication is by radio, or mail." (Delivered either by dogsled,

"the Indian people are sitting in their log houses,... watching a bunch of white people in Dallas drinking martinis and plotting to destroy each other, steal from each other and get their friends' wives into bed."

the 1960s there was scarcely a Canadian presence, save for the old Hudson's Bay Company traders and a few Mounties. It's one of those terribly harsh parts of the world that Western society left alone until re-

skidoo or airplane.) "Until recently it didn't matter," she said, "because the villages have been self-sufficient for thousands of years. But now the government is out there trying to change things. They want the people off the land so they can mine it and drill. The people need to know what's going on. I thought TV would help."

So far it has not. The people are mainly seeing programs from the United States, including *The Edge of Night*, *Dallas*, *Happy Days* and *The Six Million Dollar Man*. The rest is from Toronto and Ottawa.

Cindy Gilday, the Communications Coordinator for the Dene Tribe, told me: "We're not getting any chance to deal with our own problems on TV. There's only one hour each week of local programs in the entire NWT, and only rarely do we see an Indian or Inuit face, even though we're the majority population here. Instead, all the Indian people are sitting in their log houses, alongside these frozen lakes with the dog teams tied up outside and the dried fish hanging on the lines and they're watching a bunch of white people in Dallas drinking martinis around their swimming pools and plotting to destroy each other, steal from



continued next page

each other and get their friends' wives into bed."

The women all felt that TV was glamorizing behaviors and values which are poisonous to life in the north. "Our traditions have a lot to do with survival here," one woman said. "Cooperation and sharing and non-materialism are the only ways people can live here. TV presents values opposite to those."

Another woman, who identified herself as a schoolteacher, said, "When TV came to my village I saw an immediate change. The kids lost all interest in the native language. They only wanted English. But worst of all is that storytelling has stopped cold. Storytelling used to be the main activity at night; all the kids sitting around the old people. I was raised that way. We'd ask our grandparents for the same stories night after night. We loved those stories and they were important. They taught us how to live here. But more than that they conveyed trust and love and admiration between the young and the old. The old people were windows into the past—the way we could see who we are as Indians. It was how the culture was passed on. We used to honor our old people but that's all going now. The generations are sitting all together now, silently watching television. And on TV it seems like being young is all that matters and that the old have nothing to say."

Listening to these women and, in the following days, observing what they were describing, I realized that for all my criticism of television this was the first time I was actually seeing, in front of my eyes, the beginning of a process that had already been completed in the United States. Television has begun to re-design the people of the north—their feelings, ideas, images, nervous systems—to be "compatible" (in computer terms) with the world of the "south." Commodity life. Technological passivity. Acceleration. The role of satellites is to provide a delivery system for this process in hard-to-reach places. Together they serve the creation of what Peter Berg calls "monoculture"—the cloning of cultures.

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[Eds Note: When we heard Jerry Mander tell this story at a "Greentalk" in San Francisco in Spring 1989, he mentioned that television had also apparently brought "elderbeating" to the native people.]

"You are a Threat to Wildlife..."

The following are remarks made by Moringe Parkipuny, of the Maasai people of Tanzania, at a meeting to discuss Environment, Development and Human Rights, November 16, 1989, hosted by the International Indian Treaty Council and The Environmental Project on Central America.

I was part of a meeting in Nicaragua in June, the conference on the Hope and Fate of the Earth. There I met with indigenous people from different continents. As we talked we recognized that even though we are separated by thousands of miles and have very different cultures, we have many common problems.

I am from East Africa, a member of the Maasai people who are split by the borders of Tanzania and Kenya. We raise cattle, sheep and goats. We have communal ownership of the land. When Europe met in Berlin to draw lines across Africa, one of the lines was drawn across the middle of Maasai. This has created many difficulties. Nine years ago I was sanctioned to represent my community in parliament. But to even say I represent them and our interests in the parliament is unacceptable. It is viewed as "tribalism," as "dividing the nation," "not encouraging unity." Yet it is clear that we are culturally distinct and different. In Tanzania there are 5 major cultural

groups, yet it is the nature of national policies to oppose the concept of such groups. Under the slogan of nation building we are asked to abandon all tradition, to work for "development." This is a very confusing idea. I have decided that in this situation, my main allegiance is to my community.

We are still struggling, and have been struggling since the first white settlers came and took our best land to create a white man's land. The problems began with the expropriation of the land and livestock. Now that they have taken much of the land, they are starting to talk about "conservation of wildlife." They are talking about the model of National Parks as in the U.S. We know how Europe establishes national parks in the "colonies." They evict people. When asked

why, they say it is because human beings are exterminating wild animals everywhere, so they need to protect these animals for the entire human race, even when it means evicting some of us from our homes. Now we ask, but aren't we part of humanity?

We are just a few thousand of the 5 billion people, but the reason wildlife is disappearing is not because of indigenous people. We've been living with wildlife for three thousand years. We have land use systems that we have maintained for three thousand years. Now we are told, "you are a threat to wildlife...."

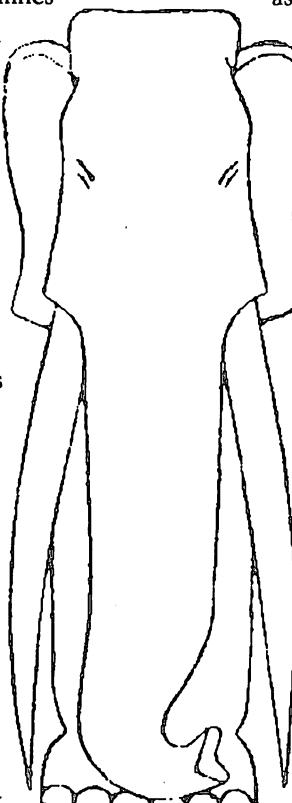
But the serious threat to wildlife began with colonization, with missionaries, with explorers, troops and the rest.... Every white person who came, came with a gun or a tool. They were not satisfied to look, but they had to shoot. And those who shot, shot for 40 years. They didn't think extinction was possible, but they—with their guns and way of living—brought us to the brink of extinction. Now these same people are saying they are

the ones who know how to protect wildlife, that we must protect wildlife and do it "properly." This, of course, means doing it "their way." They want us to do it the way of Yellowstone Park.

This is what we are fighting against. This idea that their way, is the only and best way. They think that only they know how to do things. This is what we try to resist. We need the good will and support of people who understand this, who respect other cultures, who recognize that human knowledge is not confined to one culture only, but in everyone.

When we met in Managua with the indigenous people we learned that the prob-

see Maasai p. 41



The Living Economy

Development for Liberation

The Living Economy, a compilation of the papers from the 1984 London and 1985 Bonn conferences, is both visionary and pragmatic. It covers a wide range of issues from banking, taxes, trade, work, land, industry and more. These conferences drew some of the leading thinkers and practitioners of what has come to be called the "New Economics." This book is what many of us have been waiting for. It doesn't just analyze what's wrong, but puts forward very thoroughly thought out and informed proposals of alternatives. It is a must for anyone who is serious about setting history onto a new course. This book details what our economy would be like if our decisions were not made based on profit margins but on human and ecological needs.

Another Development would be:

- Need-oriented, that is, being geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of those, dominated and exploited, who constitute the majority of the world's inhabitants, and ensures at the same time the humanisation of all human beings by the satisfaction of their needs for expression, creativity, equality, and conviviality and to understand and master their own destiny.

- Endogenous, that is, stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the vision of its future. Since development is not a linear

process, there could be no universal model, and only the plurality of development patterns can answer to the specificity of each situation.

- Self-reliant, that is, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members' energies and its natural and cultural environment. Self-reliance clearly needs to be exercised at national and international (collective self-reliance) levels, but it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at local level, in the praxis of each community.

- Ecologically sound, that is, utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local

ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on the present and future generations. It implies the equitable access to resources by all as well as careful, socially relevant technologies.

- Based on structural transformations; they are required, more often than not, in social relations, in economic activities and in their spatial distribution, as well as in the power-structure, so as to recognize the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world as a whole, without which the above goals could not be achieved.

These five points are organically linked. Taken in isolation from each other, they would not bring about the desired result. For development is seen as a whole, as an integral, cultural process, as the development of every man and woman and the whole of man and woman. Another Development means liberation.

The above was excerpted from: *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*, edited by Paul Ekins, Foreword by Christian Schumacher, Routledge, London, 1989.

Green and Marxist!

Rick Wolff

[The last issue of Green Letter focused on Ecological Economics. It was pointed out to us that Marxism represents a fundamental contribution to economic analysis, but we had failed to present any Marxist thinking on our theme. Rick Wolff offers a contribution to ecological economics from a Marxian perspective.—GL]

A tremendous renaissance and revitalization of Marxism is taking place in many parts of the world, including the U.S. People are rediscovering and reexamining the Marxian tradition as composed of all sorts of different theories, including many that have important contributions to make about the causes and consequences of ecological crisis. These theories had been repressed in favor of the one, particular theory that had been for several decades the "official" Marxism propounded by the now fast-disappearing re-

gimes of Eastern Europe. It turns out that in the realm of thinking, the winds of democratic change have also enabled the many dissenting voices within the Marxian tradition to re-emerge and to make their marks.

One such Marxian theory focuses its attention on what it calls "surplus labor," understood as follows. In every human community, people interact with nature to produce goods and services. In so doing, they produce first of all a quantity of goods and services that they themselves consume. This amount of labor is called "necessary labor." However, they always produce more than that, an additional or "surplus labor" yielding a surplus product. In this Marxian theory, every society exhibits both necessary and surplus labor. How the surplus labor is produced, who gets it, and what is done with

it comprise what this theory sees as a society's "class structure." However, societies differ in how they organize the necessary and surplus labor, in how much necessary and surplus labor is performed, and in who does the surplus labor and in who gets it and what they do with it. In short, from this Marxian perspective, how societies interact with nature, is determined in part by their particular patterns of necessary and surplus labor.

In some kinds of society, the fruits of the surplus as well as the necessary labor remain in the hands of those who produced it. In social organizations where community members collectively produce and appropriate their own surplus labor, this Marxian theory recognizes what it calls a "commu-

see Wolff p. 41

Local revolving loan fund

Bioregionalism in Action

Joan Hastings

Bioregionalism, or the value of creating self-sustaining local economies that support a balanced regional ecology, is one of the cornerstones of Green philosophy. It is very difficult to implement in the midst of our mass-produced culture that still values increased consumerism and maximum convenience.

There are some examples of good bioregional ideas that operate well, however, and I would like to describe one that is growing in rural Western Massachusetts.

The Enterprise Fund is a local revolving loan fund. It started at the Hilltown Community Development Corporation in Chesterfield with a \$5000 loan from a community resident in 1986. The CDC had been administering State commercial loan funds for several years but found that the restrictions about lending only to those with fixed collateral stopped them from serving a sizable percentage of their more marginal loan applicants. They decided to try the combination of small loans with flexible terms, immediate access and technical assistance from the business advisor. It worked. The fund has now generated over \$20,000 of loan activity, and there have been no defaults.

This year, the tiny local Fund has become the model for an area-wide Enterprise Fund involving five CDC's in Western Massachusetts. The consortium is looking to raise \$1.25 million in loan funds supplemented by administrative monies and a 10% loan guarantee fund pledged by banks and foundations. The local campaigns are underway now with the advice of professional fundraisers. The idea is that local residents who do have discretionary income will be asked to "invest in their community" by loaning capital in increments of \$1000 to the Fund for below market rates of interest. Their reward will be some financial return, the right to call in their loan if they need to, and the satisfaction of knowing they have contributed to the self-sufficiency of their neighbors. They also support the availability of fresh local produce, quality crafts and friendly services. Newcomers and oldtimers alike value the quality of life still available in the Hilltowns. It includes scenic beauty, excellent recreational facilities, diversity of

individual skills and interests, volunteer town government, neighborly cooperation and a long history of self-reliance. To maintain its commitment to those qualities for all residents, the Hilltown CDC is enthusiastic about its new loan fund.

The need for this Fund became increasingly evident as New England's rural economy became more problematic in the 1980's. Life on the small family farm is now good for little more than subsistence. Additionally, in Western Massachusetts in the last decade, over half the manufacturing jobs have moved to other parts of the country. A 1986 economic analysis of the area says:

"While unemployment rates have fallen significantly from the peaks of 1982-83 period, most of the decline is

due not to the availability of more jobs, but rather to the exit of a large number of workers from the labor force through retirement, out-migration, discouragement, and entrance into an "underground economy of off-the-books labor."

That last category is the one that has been able to take advantage of the Enterprise Fund.

Commuting on poor roads to cities in the Valley to work for low wages, holds little appeal to country residents. They need to make a living using a range of skills, being continuously resourceful, and frequently running their own small businesses. The

see *Bioregional* p. 42

Uniting to heal all our relations: home, community, and the Earth

The two themes of the Congress are "Organizing Our Bioregions" and "Promoting Cultural Diversity—Building Alliances and Coalitions." It is our intent to empower people at the Congress by sharing and learning the skills and philosophy of bioregional organizing. A special focus will be on celebrating the voices of gender, race, class, and other species.

Early registration

(Before March 15, 1990)

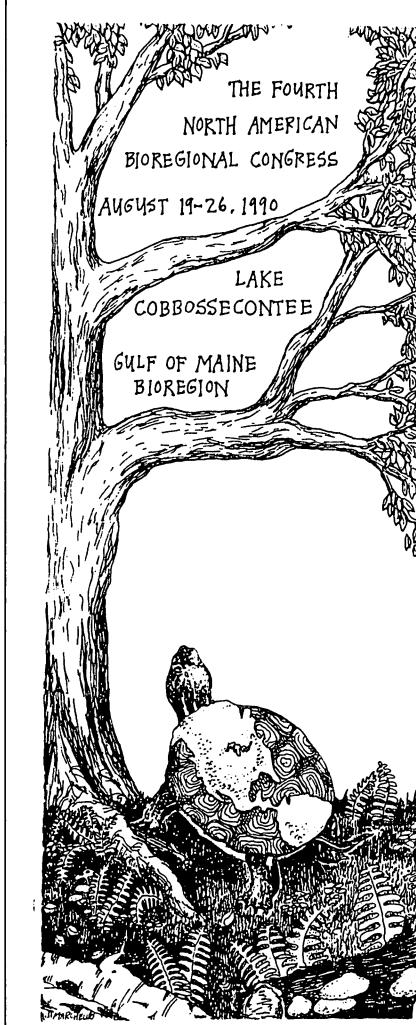
- \$100 per child 3-11 years
- \$125-200 U.S. dollars or more per adult (12 years or older), or the equivalent in Canadian dollars or Mexican pesos.

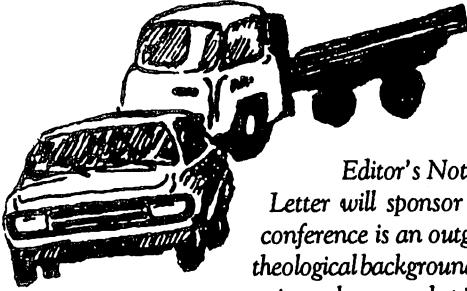
Registration after March 15

- a minimum of \$175 U.S. dollars or the equivalent in Canadian dollars or Mexican pesos.

NO ONE WILL BE ADMITTED AT THE EVENT WITHOUT PREREGISTRATION!

For more information, or to register:
NABC IV / c/o Gulf of Maine Books /
61 Maine St. / Brunswick, ME 04011 / USA





The Automotive Column

Charles Varon

Editor's Note: It is with great pleasure that we make the following announcement: In late June 1990, the Green Letter will sponsor a conference at Hampshire College on the subject "Toward an Automotive Spirituality." The conference is an outgrowth of our search for a new automotive editor (we are currently evaluating 12 candidates with a theological background). These individuals will make presentations at the conference, where we hope to wed Green thinking, automotive culture, and spirituality.

This issue's column was prepared by Charles Varon, a man whose car was recently rear-ended by a Frito-Lay delivery vehicle.

Question: The speed limit on certain highways recently jumped from 55 to 65 miles per hour. This seems like a step backward, both safety-wise and environmentally. Don't more accidents occur at the higher speed? Isn't more gasoline burned?

Response: Yes, to both questions. The speed increase has been denounced by a number of environmentalists. In her *Annual Compendium of Ecological Disappointments* (1989), Devia Ubrecht-Marmalade writes: "Raising highway speeds is a typically American folly. We have a government that speaks of a war on drugs while in the same breath refusing to admit that American drivers are 'speed freaks.'"

Meanwhile, there is at least one person suggesting a *reduction* in the speed limit. This lone voice of reason belongs to Tom Magliozi who, with his brother Ray, hosts National Public Radio's weekly call-in program "Car Talk." Tom has proposed a "universal speed limit" of 35 mph, "seven times faster than you can walk." And he cites a precedent: in 1942, as part of the war effort, the nation's speed limit was reduced to 35, in order to conserve rubber. To find out more, I interviewed the Magliozi brothers by phone. The following transcript is an approximation of our conversation.

Green Letter: Tell us about the 35 mile an hour idea.

Tom: There was a study done somewhere in California; I think it was in L.A.

Ray: And they concluded that the most efficient freeway speed was 35—the speed at which things would keep moving.

GL: Is that where you got the idea?

Tom: No, I got the idea because that's as fast as my car goes.

Ray: And he wants everyone else to suffer, too.

Tom: There's all kinds of evidence about why it's the right speed. Horses run at 35 miles an hour. That means that God knew how fast we should go. The only animal on

which a guy can ride and go somewhere is a horse, and the fastest moving one goes 35 miles an hour. You can ride a camel but they can't go that fast.

GL: How fast do camels go?

Tom: Camels only run about 20 miles an hour, and then you wish you weren't on it.

Ray: They don't measure it in miles an hour. They measure it in oases per day.

Tom: Everything points to 35 miles an hour as being the sort of *natural* speed limit. When I become Philosopher King, the speed limit will become 35 miles an hour. And it won't just apply to cars—nothing could go over 35.

Ray: See, he wants planes to go at 35.

Tom: The amount of travel that goes on would be cut *drastically*. I mean, the only reason that people go 150, 200 miles away is because they think they can make it in three hours. If you knew it was gonna take you seven hours to do it, you wouldn't go. You'd stay home. You'd buy a fax machine, and that would be it.

So we're going to tremendously cut down the amount of fuel that's being used. Then you don't have to worry about cars getting fifty miles to the gallon. It wouldn't matter what you drive. If you only get seven miles to the gallon, so what? You're never gonna drive anyway.

Ray: Right. And at 35 you can drive and play chess at the same time.

Tom: You won't need cruise control anymore. Think about how much money that will save. That's weight you're carrying around.

GL: You live in Boston, where you get a lot of our California fruit and vegetables shipped by planes and trucks that go faster than 35 miles an hour. What will you eat instead?

Tom: What we eat now. Corn. Crow.

Ray: I think trucks should be allowed to drive as fast as they want.

Tom: Trucks already go at any speed

they want. No, the 35 mile an hour limit would apply to trucks as well as it applies to cars.

Ray: The only thing it might not apply to is trains, because there's no traffic on the track. So if you can't ship us your peaches on the train, keep your damn peaches!

GL: So the 35 mile an hour limit would encourage bioregionalism?

Tom: Exactly! The whole problem is everyone is moving around too much.

Ray: The 35 mile an hour limit would take us back to the century where my brother longs to be. That's why he thinks everyone should stay home.

Tom: That's right, they should! Why is everyone traveling around? Why does everyone think it's better to be somewhere else?

Ray: You know why? Because where they are...

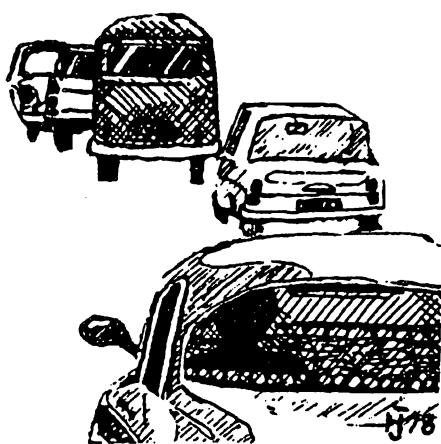
Tom: What?

Ray: Sucks!

Tom: It's that simple?

Ray: It's just as simple as that. You know why it sucks? Because people are speeding around at 70 miles an hour.

Tom: If everyone was doing 35, the whole world would be happy. Trust me on this.



Miana Jensen

The End of the Line

An Oral History of Autoworkers and the American Dream

Richard Feldman and Michael Betzold

In 1950 the United States made 80 percent of the world's cars; today it makes 30 percent. Other countries have the know-how, the discipline, and the cheap labor costs to compete. Growing numbers of U.S. high school graduates flip hamburgers for minimum wage because thousands of auto factories, parts plants, tool shops, steel mills, and rubber and glass factories have shut down, like electronics and textile plants before them. The United States is no longer the unchallenged leader of global manufacturing, and the automobile has lost its place

as the linchpin of the American economy.

The auto industry and the American economy have had ups and downs for decades. In the past, periods of belt tightening have been followed by recoveries in which laid-off workers have been called back to their jobs and the standard of living has risen. But between 1979 and 1984, 5.1 million Americans lost their jobs, and most have not been rehired. Some now work for lower pay in union or nonunion factories. Many are security guards, janitors, or cooks. Others are sleeping in the streets. In the

"recovery" of the 1980s the work force in the automobile and related industries has shrunk drastically and real wages have declined...The jobs that are being destroyed pay an average of \$444 a week, while the jobs being generated pay \$272 a week. This is not just a cyclical adjustment. De-industrialization means the abundance we have taken for granted since World War II is at an end, and so is an economy based on a large number of well-paid industrial workers.

Today's autoworkers are certain that their sons and daughters will not have the same opportunities they had. Painters and welders, mothers and fathers, southerners and northerners, native-born and immigrants, sons of coal miners and daughters of farmers, Democrats and Republicans, the religious and non-churchgoers—despite their vastly different backgrounds and beliefs, they know it's the end of the line.

"When I got hired at the plant, I thought it was a guaranteed job because everybody needs cars. I didn't know they were going to lay off people," says Lance Whitis, an assembler with twelve years at the plant. "Now I know the whole thing is going to fold. This is the last generation."

"Even the salaried guys are starting to worry," notes drive shaft installer Ed Aubuchon. "They're starting to cut into people who live in a lot nicer houses than I do."

Some believe that their own actions contain the seeds of their destruction. Says Texas-born spot welder Ramon Reyes, "The harder I work, the more I accomplish, the more profits they make, and they use those profits to buy robots to clear me out."

Today's autoworkers are survivors who work fifty to sixty hours a week, trying to get what they can before the doors close for good. Their power to refuse work has diminished because jobs are scarce, machinery is more mobile, and companies are willing to close down plants and move. The survivors work next to robots that have eliminated the worst jobs, as well as their best friends.

When one employee at the Michigan Truck Plant did a survey to find out what

Roger & Me takes film festivals by storm!

Even the corporations cooperate when there is money to be made. In the competition for distribution rights to *Roger & Me*, Warner Brothers won out. Never mind that they form a conglomerate with *Time Magazine*, one of whose biggest advertisers is GM; they wanted the film and they went far to get it.

Filmmaker Michael Moore first came to prominence when he settled out of court with *Mother Jones Magazine* after being let go as editor (rumor has it he couldn't practice his politics there). Moore returned to his home town, Flint Michigan. Flint was on GM's life support system, and GM decided to pull the plug. So Moore made a film describing the "progress" the town has made as a result of some 30,000 layoffs by GM over a number of years.

The film takes us on a tour of Flint, much of the time following the deputy sheriff, who is glad to have a job, even if his main duty is evicting people from their homes—a full time responsibility. The evictions are interspersed with Moore's fruitless efforts to invite GM chair Roger Smith to visit Flint and see the devastation wreaked by GM's policies.

To win distribution rights to *Roger & Me*, Warner agreed:

- to buy a home for all the folks shown in the film being evicted;
- to finance a group from Flint to tour with the film for the purpose of holding discussions with viewers of the issues the film raises;
- to hold free showings throughout Michigan. The last movie theatre in Flint went out of business, so it had to be shown in a nearby town for the people of Flint (5000 saw the film).
- to reserve a seat with the name "Roger Smith" in every showing of the film, just in case GM's chair changes his mind and decides to see it.

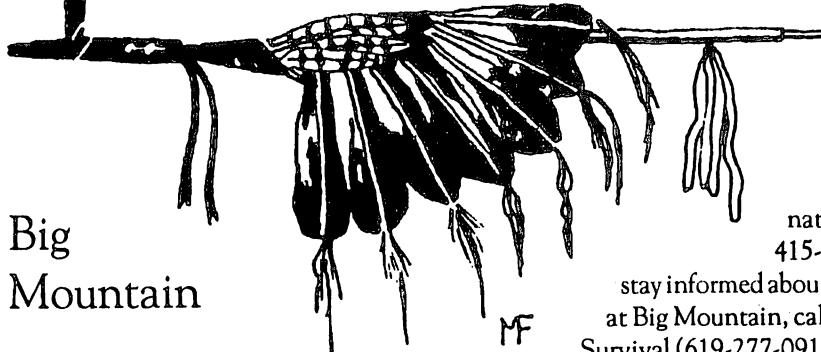
GM has launched a campaign against the movie, trying to discredit it; as a result, the film has been disqualified from consideration for an Academy Award as a documentary. Moore responded: "my film violates the two fundamental rules of documentary filmmaking: it's funny and people are going to see it." The film cost \$250,000 to make, and Moore paid himself only \$35,000. The profits go to Dog Eat Dog, the company which produced the film. For their next project they are considering a film on Palestinians.

Roger & Me shows what corporate progress has meant for a town and its people in our industrial heartland: go see it.

see *Autoworkers* p. 42

Native American Struggles

Big Mountain



Winter has been rough at Big Mountain. Poverty has been deepened by a drought which wiped out many crops. Livestock confiscation has increased; pressure to relocate has intensified, fueled by rumors of government deadlines. In response to a law suit by the Hopi Tribal Council, a U.S. district court has ruled for the destruction of 8 structures, including a religious (ceremonial) hogan, which it found to have been built in violation of the 1974 Relocation Act (PL 93-531). This destruction is scheduled for March 15.

In June, the Veteran's Peace Action Team (VPAT) is organizing a nation-wide convoy to Big Mountain to bring needed supplies and to show support.

For more information, call The VPAT

national office at 415-753-2130. To stay informed about the situation at Big Mountain, call Alliance for Survival (619-277-0911), or the L.A. Big Mountain Support Group (213-399-5376) or the Bay Area Big Mountain Support Group (415-664-1847).



Eddie Hatcher



On February 14, after almost a year in prison, since a Federal Jury found him not guilty of all charges, and still with no trial

date set, Tuscarora Indian Eddie Hatcher pled guilty to kidnapping in exchange for an 18 year sentence. At Hatcher's request, his first year will be spent in the Maximum Security facility in Raleigh where he has been imprisoned.

Supporters expressed surprise at this decision, but indicated their continuing support for Hatcher and their outrage at the repression he has faced.

For more information, call the Treaty Council at 415-566-0251, or the West Coast Eddie Hatcher Defense Committee at 415-826-6409. Funds are needed for his defense. They should be directed to: Robeson Defense Committee / P.O. Box 1389 / Pembroke, NC 28372. Letters of support can be written to Eddie Hatcher directly: DL 213 / North Carolina Central Prison / 1300 Western Blvd. / Raleigh, NC 27606

European Invasion Anniversary

As Indian communities and their organizations throughout the Americas prepare to observe the 500th anniversary of the European invasion of the American continent, the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC) urges everyone to re-examine the historical record of colonialism, and to take note of the ways in which policies of the "new colonialism" are still denying our ancestral rights.

While European governments plan to celebrate the "discovery" of America by re-enacting the "conquest" of Indian nations, there are diverse ways in which Native people will commemorate the 500 Years—through the participation of children, women and men; through oral tradition, storytelling, collective memory, healing ceremonies, music, dance, handicrafts, reinterpretation of events; through the investigation of the current situation in Native communities; through the self-demarcation of ancestral territories, through books, radio programs and films, reaching out to non-Indian people to join forces in our campaign of self-discovery.

The SAIIC is working with Native organizations throughout the Americas on the 500 Years Campaign, and plans to organize an international conference to discuss strategies for 500 Years activities. We invite everyone to join us in "rediscovering our America" and to take immediate action in support of the work of Indigenous organizations as they look toward the future.

[A quarterly bulletin of information on the Indian peoples of South and Meso America is available by subscription from SAIIC, PO Box 7550, Oakland CA 94707]

Buying Time

*With the money they made by stealing our land
They have bought themselves some time—
Air time
Water time
War time
And underground time.
By that they believe that they have made history*

*But when I look back, past the hundreds of years
Of history they claim to own,
Through our own thousands of years.*

*And when I think of the millions of red flowers
That open each Spring of those thousands of years
No matter how white the winters.*

I see hours like stars in the eyes of our children

—Jerome Durham



Voices for Peace & Self-Determination: “Stop Nuclear Testing!”

A speaking tour sponsored by the Nevada Desert Experience and the American Peace Test is presently underway in the Western states region of the U.S. It's called "Voices for Peace and Self-determination" and will be the very first of its kind ever. Indigenous people from the nuclear testing regions of the US (Pauline Esteves, a Shoshone elder and a member of the Western Shoshone Council), and the USSR (Kairat Umarov, a member of the Nevada Movement in Kazakhstan, USSR) will be calling for an end to nuclear testing, and will be giving public presentations and speaking in schools and universities. For part of this time we also hope to have a Tahitian woman with the tour. She'll be addressing the struggle for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific and against French nuclear testing.

Cities on the tour include: Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Denver, Boulder, Colorado Springs, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Tucson, San Diego, Los Angeles, Las Vegas/Nevada Test Site.

For more information please contact the local tour coordinators in your area.

See Tour Schedule, p. 32



Hiroshima Day Demonstration, Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R., August 6, 1989. Poster upper left: Shut down the test site! Banner: We are for an Immediate closure of the test site!

Photo by Kuldin.

South American Greens Have Historical Meeting

Miguel Grinberg, GT Correspondent, Buenos Aires

For the first time in South America, after a decade of growing awareness and commitment, environmental and ecologist representatives from 23 organizations active in the ten Republics of the Region (Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina), met during the last week of October 1989 at Las Vertientes (Chile) and set a South American Pact for Ecological Action (Pacto de Accion Ecologica Sudamericano—PAES).

Green activists from three national networks (Venezuela, Argentina, Chile) and the finest Green thinkers from ten countries gathered in front of the Andes hills and the banks of the Maipo River to draft an Action Plan, which was named "Acuerdo de Las Vertientes". They also issued a key manifesto titled "Declaration de Eco-Independencia".

This Green event was organized by the Chilean Institute of Political Ecology, and was backed by the U.N. Commission on Economy for Latin America (CEPAL), the Nairobi-based Environment Liaison Centre (ELC), the South American Peace Commission, and the governments of Norway and Holland (which provided the funds for the meeting).

The starting point was a debate on the U.N. Report "Our Common Future", but it soon became a strong point of departure for a decade of transcendental and transformational commitments.

The seminar acted under the common banner of "Our Threatened Environmental Future", and rejected the Development Model now imposed on South American countries by the ruling powers. It claimed

strongly a real democratic and participative process in the region, it rejected the arms race and all nuclear energy projects, it set clear claims for the preservation of the Amazonia and Antarctica, and condemned the foreign debt trap which is creating more and more situations of social injustice. The Action Plan will concentrate on the foreign debt, the banning of imports of toxic wastes, social environmental education, the widening of the campaign against the "Dirty Dozen" (pesticides), solidarity with the creation of "Extractivist Reservations" in the Amazonian Region, and strong intervention in two coming governmental meetings: the Latin American Encounter on "Our Common Future" (Mexico 1990), and the 1992 Global Conference (two decades after Stockholm's U.N. Conference on Human

See Eco-Independencia, p. 41

News from Europe

Marcus Endicott

Hungary

One of the first major actions of the new government in Hungary was the cancellation of the Bos-Nagyamaros high dam project on the Danube river. It was a joint project with Czechoslovakia, using Austrian contractors. This dam would have dramatically altered the level and flow of the river drastically altering habitats in the Danube basin.

The opposition to this project was orchestrated by the Danube Circle, a coalition of grassroots groups. Under the motto "Keep the Danube Blue," they unified virtually the entire spectrum of opposition and alternative groups in Hungary.

Unfortunately, a rift developed between the "old" ecologists, who had fought repression together long and hard, and "new" ecologists who clamored to become involved once the repression ceased.

On the weekend of the 18th and 19th of November the foundation congress of the Green Party of Hungary was held in Budapest. It was clearly dominated, at least numerically, by "new" ecologists, with many prominent "old" ecologists conspicuously absent. Calling themselves "Blues" after the Danube Circle, rather than greens, they apparently felt that the formation of a Green Party was premature.

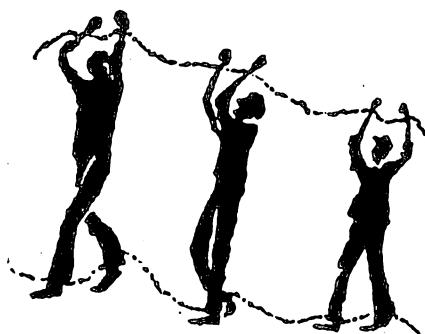
Per Gerstrand, a Green member of parliament from Sweden, announced that this was the 21st Green Party in Europe, 13 of which have representation in their parliaments. Also present was one of the Green members of the Austrian parliament.

Initiatives mentioned there included the formation of an international peace park at the point of intersection between Tisza river in southern Hungary, and action against hotel development of Obuda island, a cherished Budapest park.

In September, an Independent Ecological Center was established under the auspices of the New York-based Soros Foundation. It was promised 5 million dollars by George Bush during his recent visit to Hungary.

European Youth Forest Action (EYFA), based in the Netherlands, is planning to hold

their 1990 Ecotopia camp in Hungary, August 1-21. This will be their second annual ecological peace encampment.



Czechoslovakia

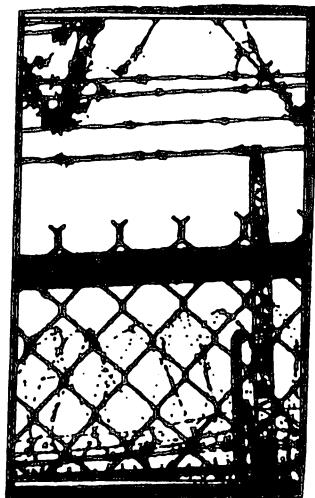
Czechoslovakia (CSSR) consists of the Czech republic (CSR) and the Slovak republic (SSR). The ecologists in Slovakia have nationalist sympathies and are united behind the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservators. This is a well-organized group with controversial, charismatic leadership. The union was an established, legal organization before the recent revolution, but rose heroically to the occasion playing a central role in the changes there. They have close ties with their neighbors, the Austrian Greens, and are pursuing a spiritual ecological alliance with Slovak Catholics.

In the Czech republic, the ecologists are more fractionalized. There is disharmony between those trying to establish a Green Party and others who are attempting to form a non-political Green Circle, as well as between the formerly legal groups and those emerging from the underground. The circle of advisors around Vaclav Havel, at the center of the revolution, supported the Green Circle which was formed before political parties were legalized.

The establishment of the Green Party was declared by a published manifesto of five signatories immediately prior to announced legalization. Not only did the signatories not have a program, but they knew very little about green politics and had no contacts with greens abroad. It was widely suspected at the time that this was formed as a provocation by the secret police to divide or confuse the opposition. In response to this the Green Circle encouraged local people in

each town to form their own local green groups.

Perhaps the first town meeting on nuclear power in Czech history was held recently in the southern Bohemian city of Ceske Budejovice. The extent of reliance on nuclear power in the United States, as well as the number of stations scheduled to come online here, were the primary arguments used by the government to defend the nearby project. Another controversial issue is hotel development on Mount Snezka in the Krkonosky National Park.



Poland

In Poland the Polish Ecological Club (PKE) is the oldest and largest group in the movement. Since the formation of the Solidarity coalition government, its focus is becoming more scientific and less radical. While officially attempting to maintain political neutrality, it has extensive reach in to both the government and the ecological movement, and is responsible for the most concrete and constructive projects and legislation in Poland to date, such as stopping hotel development in Krakow parks and creating a pedestrian zone out of the old town there.

Co-sponsored by the PKE, two yachts from Szczecin took part in this summer's Clean Baltic Sea Initiative, sailing around the Baltic with six others from the Institute of Water Transport in Leningrad. With international crews from both the Eastern and

Western countries surrounding the Baltic, this ecological regatta was a true peace fleet.

The Green Party of Poland was started by a former president from the PKE. It has since collapsed into three competing groups, each claiming to be the real one and accusing the others of secret police involvement. A non-political Green Federation was formed in response to these problems. Similar to the Czech Green Circle, it is a coalition of all different kinds of green groups.

As in Hungary, there is now also an Independent Ecological Center in Warsaw. Two main publications devoted to the ecological movement are circulating in Poland. The most widely distributed is the radical "Green Brigade," which leans toward the Green Federation. The second most widely distributed is the *Zielone Lustro* of the student union of the PKE. A sociologist with the Polish Academy of Sciences, Dr. Piotr Glinski, has written a comprehensive paper entitled "Environmentalism in Poland." Informally referred to as the "Glinski Report," it covers both the history and current state of the movement in detail. He will be here in the United States, at Stanford, CA, for the first six months of this year, sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

There are two burning issues at present in Poland. There is a desperate effort to prevent the first ever nuclear power stations there from going online. The memory of the nearby Chernobyl disaster, of which no official announcement came for three days afterwards, is literally etched into the genes of every young Pole. Actions during this bitterly cold winter have included a blockade of reactor parts coming into Gdansk harbor, and pickets at the parliament building in Warsaw. Solidarity originally supported the anti-nuclear movement wholeheartedly, but has begun to quaver in the face of mounting economic crisis.

The second issue is that of cross-border pollution from Czechoslovakia. Since Poland is considered by the European Environmental Bureau to be the most polluted country in Europe, emotions are running especially high on this. Before the revolution in Czechoslovakia, the question of a military action against the offending industry was even brought up in the Polish parliament.

senior author of "Charta '89," a blueprint for the preservation of the Bulgarian natural heritage, young intellectuals have recently established the independent environmental organization Eco-glasnost. So far their activities have been concentrated on protection of the population from local industrial pollution and hazardous food and goods." Shortly after this, Eco-glasnost was banned by the government, but has since been allowed to operate.

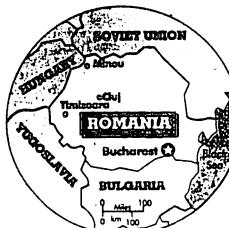
Cross-border pollution from Romania has been a major problem here. The town of Ruse is across the Danube from the Romanian chemical plant, Giurgiu, which has polluted the air for some time with a thick yellow cloud of chlorine gas. The town's people formed a committee to fight this, which initially got a harsh official response, but has apparently been at least partially successful.



Romania

The January 13 issue of the West German newspaper, *Die Grünen*, reports that local ecological groups are forming throughout Romania, although not yet coordinated. The new government has apparently already stopped a project to make the Danube delta and the Danube-Bucharest Canal agriculturally useful at the expense of the unique nature preserve there.

In the southern Romanian area of Cluj, a chemical plant has hopelessly polluted the groundwater. In the north around Suceava, the smokestack of a synthetic container factory was built 60 feet too low, due to problems getting building materials, and has led to the poisoning deaths of small animals and birds.



Bulgaria

According to Professor Lyubomir Ivanov of the Mathematics Faculty of Sofia,

German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany

Things are happening so quickly in the relationship between the two German states and much can be read in the general media about what the people in political control think. Therefore, we've decided to share the views of the German Greens from West and East.

Statement of the Green Party (GDR) on the German Question.

The division of Germany is primarily the result of World War II, which was caused by the criminal action of Germany.

Today, the populations of both German states feel a great need to put an end to all ideological hostilities.

We are striving for an alliance of all leftist democratic forces in order to achieve a rapprochement, on this basis, of both German states within their existing external boundaries.

We propose:

a. A KSZE (Conference on Security & Cooperation) summit conference on the German question, to be held in 1990 in Helsinki, with the following goals:

- dissolution of both military alliances with maximum, complete disarmament, and
- creation of a common European security system;

- b. On a basis of equal importance with the KSZE process, an ecological security conference, with the goal of dismantling environmentally destructive economic structures of the world economy, in such a way to benefit the third world;

- c. After the 1990 elections, construction of a confederative structure of the two German states, maintaining the internal sovereignty of each: establishment of the existing external boundaries, the structural inability to commit aggression, the primacy of the ecology, the equality of the sexes at all levels of popular representation, and anti-fascism;

- d. Conclusion of a peace treaty between the Confederation and all states who participated in World War II.

See Europe, p. 42

Looking Ahead

The university intellectuals are increasingly preoccupied with the future. They are not especially interested in preparing for the future—which is something that people do by behaving considerately, moderately, conservingly, and decently in the present—but in predicting the future, saying now what will happen then. But one of the fundamental truths of human experience is that we can never be sure what will happen in the next minute, much less in the next century. So what are the reasons for all these botherings of the future by the so called "futurologists?"

The future is the best of all possible settings for the airy work of academic theorists—simply because neither nature nor human nature has taken place there. If you build a castle in the air now, people will notice that it does not exist, and you will be accused of pipedreaming; people will think you are crazy. But if you build it in the future, which does not exist, you can call it a "logical projection," your colleagues will talk learnedly about it, you can hope to get a promotion, a salary increase, and to earn large fees as a lecturer and consultant.

The most recent "logical projection" that I have seen is the work of eleven engineering professors at Purdue University. This one proposes to tell us what American life will be like at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and I venture to say that nobody has ever pipedreamed a more dismal "logical projection." The account I read offers a glimpse of daily life in 2001 of "the fictitious Niray family, living in the imagi-

nary Midland City, U.S.A." A few samples of the text will be enough to show what a perfect "world of the future" this is—for machines.

The hero of this fiction, Dave Niray, breakfasted on a "cylinder of Nutri-Juice;" in 2001 nobody cooked at home but a few eccentrics: gourmets and old-fashioned people. (For some unexplained reason, the future is here described in the past tense.)

After drinking his breakfast, Dave began work. "Dave was an editor and feature writer for Trans Com News Service, one of the world's largest electronic news organizations. Although he routinely worked on stories of national and international events, he seldom left the apartment. His video screen gave him access to all of Trans Com's files. He could interview almost anyone in the world—from prime minister to Eskimo trader—via Vision-Phone."

By Vision-Phone, Dave interviewed "the minister of agriculture in Buenos Aires," composed his article, and then "activated the house monitor computer system," which reminded him "that Rent-A-Robot would be coming in to clean."

Ava, Dave's wife, worked in a factory. She did her work in a "control room" before "an enormous array of keyboards, video screens, and ranks and files of tiny lights. Her work was "kept track of" by a "central computer" known as the "front office." The members of "Ava's crew ... were, of course, machines." Although she was called a supervisor, she really did no supervision.

In the evening, the Nirays and their son,

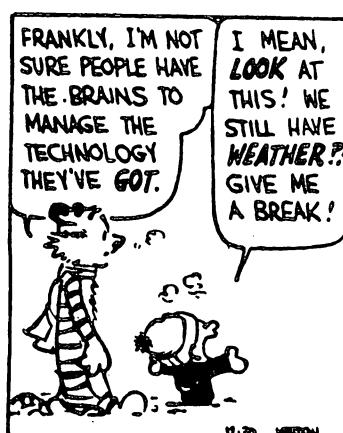
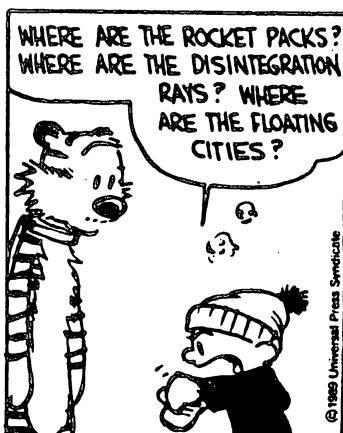
Billy, played electronic games on their video-screens.

This is a remarkable world in several respects. These people are apparently able to live an entire day without fulfilling directly any necessity of their lives. They do not take pleasure in any physical contact with anything or anybody. It is not recorded that they ever touch or speak to each other. Nor apparently, do they ever think a thought. Their entire mental life is devoted to acquiring things, getting promoted, and being electronically amused.

Although this world is enormously sophisticated technologically, it is biologically cruder and more irresponsible than our own. The Nirays drank "water recycled directly from sewage" because "there was really little choice. The wells had gone dry . . . years ago, and only an idiot would try to purify the stuff that came out of lakes and streams in the year 2001."

The engineers at Purdue assume that technology can be substituted for biology (as for everything else) with perfect adequacy and safety. There is not an ecological, economic, political, esthetic, or social consideration anywhere in the account. In this world, as we see from the Niray's job description, words do not mean what they say: Ava is a supervisor, not because she supervises, but because she is called a supervisor. And knowledge has become simply news. No one needs to write or speak with authority. It is normal procedure for a reporter to write an article about a country he has never seen. Technology has thus replaced truth; it has

CALVIN AND HOBBS / Bill Watterson



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Home of the Free

Wendell Berry

perfected the public lie.

This "future" society is built exclusively on the twin principles of "convenience" and "control"—built that is, on the dread of any kind of physical activity remotely classifiable as work. "Convenience," raised to this power, means the exchange of dependence (on oneself, on other people, on other creatures) for "control." It means not needing anything or anybody in particular. "Control" means, ultimately, being controlled, for in this world every room is a "control room," and no one is ever beyond control.

This "future" is so dismal, I think, because it is so nearly lifeless. The only living creatures, or the only ones we view, are humans, and humans are rigidly isolated from one another. They make no direct connections. They deal with each other, as they deal with the material world, only through technology. They live by "remote control." In nothing else I have read has the meaning of that phrase come so clear. Remote control is *pure control*—control without contact, without feeling, without fellow-feeling, therefore without satisfaction. Or it is without satisfaction to any but the totalitarian personality that enjoys control for its own sake.

And so the first question raised by the work of these fanciful engineers is: Where does satisfaction come from?

...

I was writing not long ago about a team of Purdue engineers who foresaw that by 2001 practically everything would be done by remote control. The question I asked—because such a "projection" forces one to ask it—was, *Where does satisfaction come from?* I concluded that there probably wouldn't be much satisfaction in such a world. There would be a lot of what passes for "efficiency," a lot of "production" and "consumption," but little satisfaction.

What I failed to acknowledge was that this "world of the future" is already established among us, and is growing. Two advertisements that I have lately received from correspondents make this clear, and raise the question about the sources of satisfaction more immediately and urgently than any abstract "projection" can do.

The first is the legend from a John Deere display at Waterloo Municipal Airport:
INTRODUCING SOUND-GARD BODY...

A DOWN TO EARTH SPACE CAP-SULE.

New Sound-Gard body from John Deere, an "earth space capsule" to protect and encourage the American farmer at his job of being "Breadwinner to a world of families."

Outside: dust, noise, heat, storm, fumes.
Inside: all's quiet, comfortable, safe.

Features include a 4 post Roll Gard, space-age metals, plastics, and fibers to isolate driver from noise, vibration, and jolts. He dials 'inside weather', to his liking...he push buttons radio or stereo tape entertainment. He breathes filtered, conditioned air in his pressurized compartment. He has remote control over multi-ton and multi-hookups, with control tower visibility...from his scientifically padded seat.

The second ad is an ad for a condominium housing development:

HOME OF THE FREE.

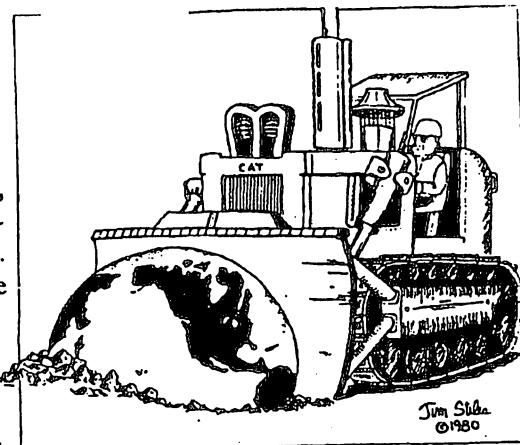
We do the things you hate. You do the things you like. We mow the lawn, shovel the walks, paint and repair and do all exterior maintenance.

You cross-country ski, play tennis, hike, swim, work out, read or nap. Or advise our permanent maintenance staff as they do the things you hate.

Different as they may seem at first, these two ads make the same appeal, and they represent two aspects of the same problem: the widespread, and still spreading, assumption that we somehow have the right to be set free from anything whatsoever we "hate" or don't want to do. According to this view, what we want to be set free from are the natural conditions of the world and the necessary work of human life; we do not want to experience temperatures that are the least bit too hot or too cold, or to work in the sun, or be exposed to wind or rain, or come in personal contact with anything describable as dirt, or provide for any of our own needs, or clean up after ourselves.

When people begin to "hate" the life cycle and to try to live outside it and to

escape its responsibilities, then the corpses begin to pile up and to get into the wrong places. One of the laws that the world imposes on us is that everything must be returned to its source to be used again. But one of the first principles of the haters is to violate this law in the name of convenience



or efficiency. Because it is "inconvenient" to return bottles to the beverage manufacturers, "dead soldiers" pile up in the road ditches and in the waterways. Because it is "inconvenient" to be responsible for wastes, the rivers are polluted with everything from human excrement to various carcinogens and poisons. Because it is "efficient" (by what standard?) to mass-produce meat and milk in food "factories," the animal manures that once would have fertilized the fields have instead become wastes and pollutants. And so to be "free" of "inconvenience" and "inefficiency" we are paying a high price—which the haters among us are happy to charge to posterity.

And what a putrid (and profitable) use they have made of the idea of freedom! What a tragic evolution has taken place when the inheritors of the Bill of Rights are told, and when some of them believe, that the "home of the free" is where somebody else will do your work!

Excerpted from Chapters 14, "Looking Ahead", and 15, "Home of the Free", from *The Gift Of Good Land*, copyright © 1981 by Wendell Berry. Published by North Point Press, reprinted with permission.

Our thanks to North Point for waiving the usual reprint fees.

Clearinghouse Report

Jim Richmond

We knew we'd turned the corner when the postmaster said our mail would no longer fit in the box!

Both correspondence and committees are multiplying in the Green Committees of Correspondence. Mail arriving at Box 30208 surpasses 600 pieces a month; committees have grown to 221 affiliated locals, with an additional 53 groups in the process of organizing.

This growth was also reflected in dollars. 1989 income was up 81.7% over 1988. Active and supporting paid members now number over 2,400—doubling in less than a year. This means we not only need a second mailbox, but will soon need a second computer, second phone line, second assistant... larger office?

Is the Press Listening?

Not much. We still run into educated people, folks in the know, even newspaper junkies, who have yet to hear of the Greens. But the message is getting out; in the last 6 months the Greens have been featured in the following:

Mainstream Newspapers:

- San Francisco Chronicle
- Dallas Times Herald
- St. Petersburg Times
- Detroit Free Press
- Houston Post
- LA Weekly
- Chicago Tribune
- LA Times

News gathering agencies:

- Associated Press
- Reuters
- Knight-Ridder

Magazines:

- New Frontier
- New Options
- National Catholic Reporter
- Utne Reader
- New Age Journal
- In Context
- Village Voice
- Harrowsmith
- E Magazine

Plus hundreds of local articles which never cross our desk. If you'd like copies of any of the above, please contact the Clear-

inghouse for a listing and prices.

What Else Do We Do?

We keep busy. For those of you who missed it, or might want it, the CH provides the following:

1. Organizing packets. For people who wish to start a group, we are happy to send the following information: steps for joining; a meeting process manual; Green CoC Working Guidelines; tips from successful locals; and of course, an application. For current members, we can also send names of other Greens in your area.
2. A current list of all locals and regions. (Good for networking, connecting faraway relatives with the nearest local, and planning vacations—\$1.)
3. A current list of Green CoC newsletters.
4. A Green bibliography and a list of recent Green press articles.
5. The IC Bulletin is published by the Clearinghouse monthly to facilitate communication within the Green CoC. Chock full of timely Green info—proposals and minutes of Interregional Committee meetings, IC reports, news from locals and regions, Green press and more. Forty odd pages a month, costs \$35 per year. (Available only to members of locals in good standing, please limit to 2 per local.)
6. Brochures at cost, \$10 per 100. Just updated, the new brochure includes a new cover and recent local success stories. (Most folks can't put it down till they finish.)
7. New Service: When we are notified that

you have moved to another town, we'll send you the name of the nearest Green group.

Some Personal Observations:

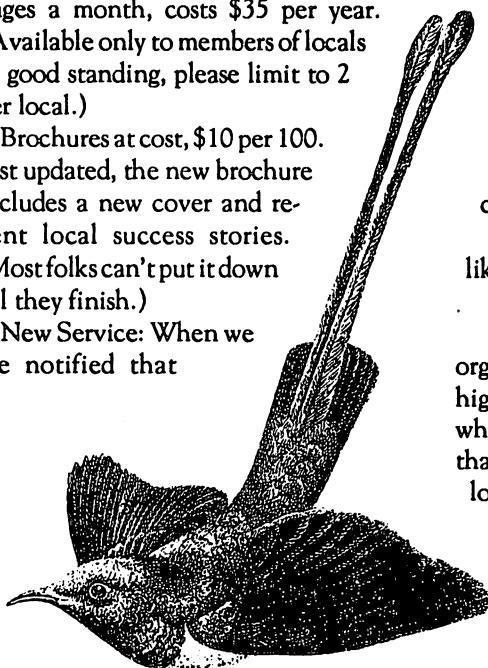
For many of us, the compelling nature of the Green vision was its promise to unite the separate "greenish" single issue movements into a holistic, ecological force capable of influencing the direction in which our country is going. At the local level we see a pattern of folks feeling a need to engage in this project or that, and soon the group breaks down into a half dozen working groups. While good is accomplished, it seems these locals end up reflecting the fragmentation cited above. So I sense many groups are still trying to find their focus.

Structure: I've heard of no group burdened by too much of it. Unstructured or loosely organized locals tend to thrive initially; only later do troubles arise. One welcome trouble is that the local or region wakes up one day to a surge of people who wish to climb on the Green bandwagon and the structure is not there to accommodate them all. Southern California comes to mind. A less welcome trouble results when a few very active members carry the group and eventually burn out. (Interestingly, it's often they who then turn their energies to creating innovative local structures.) The surge is coming. While I value the decentralist approach, the question of appropriate structure seems especially timely now.

Such are some of the issues we would like to see more Greens addressing.

Promise and Creativity

Signs of promise abound. Students are organizing a Green presence from junior high through college. We see new members who find the Green message so compelling that within weeks they have organized a local group. We see old timers who survived the early frustrations inherent in creating a new organization still persistently nourishing the movement. And we hear parents and grandparents, never politically active before, say they now have to do something. Said the father of a two-year-old, "I want to be



continued next page

Present credentials at Conference

GCoC Visits European Greens

GCoC reports
Ross Mirkarimi

Until the October IC meeting, I felt that the GCoC hadn't embraced the "greening of the realpolitik" beyond the US borders. I've hoped that IC meetings will become a forum for celebration and rapprochement, especially amid a climate of global change. And the meeting in Washington, D.C. did welcome the opportunity to participate in the Conference of European Greens in Brussels, December 16-18, 1989.

I had two months to make the arrangements for our American representatives. Phil Hill was already doing a fine job of arranging appointments with members of the European parliament, while Mindy Lorenz and I feverishly fundraised.

Mindy and I met Phil at Bonn, where he

whisked us away to meetings with Die Grünen MPs and staff. We were escorted by George Pumphrey, an American who is parliamentary assistant to Gertrude Schilling. He was a radical black activist during the 60's, and claims he is still persona non grata in the States. George's political evolution within the Greens typifies a transformation in government from the "fundis" to the "realos" position. Beyond the realos and the fundis are new fractions, which include such groups as the Left Forum [leftists and ecofeminists]

terms of "selling out" her grassroots. I had to remind myself to breathe, as she tearfully urged us to remember to build mechanisms to bridge the gaps between leaders and the grassroots, as they emerge in the US movement.

And Wilhelm Knabe, who was at the Eugene conference, exuded political savvy as he stressed the necessity for vigilance and mutual trust for Die Grünen's longevity.

The feeling I left with is that a new



Four outgoing co-secretaries preside over European Conference of Greens. Left to right: Sara Parkin, Per Gahrton, Leo Cox, Bruno Bolliere. Photo by Mindy Lorenz.

and the New Departure [a solidarity party interested in bridging the realo-fundi split]. During our interviews, I decided in mid-stream to drop the conventional line of questioning I had prepared on the plane, and react to the real situation and emotions of the Greens I met. I was surprised at how fast my perceptions of our more prominent sibling, Die Grünen, unraveled.

We spoke with parliamentarians Lieselotte Wollny, Dr. Helmut Lippelt, and Wilhelm Knabe. Their opinions on Green strategy illustrated the chronic uncertainty about Die Grünen's effectiveness.

Dr. Lippelt sees a need to green the Social Democrats. He thinks this approach will pacify those who think Die Grünen are too radical. His tone was pragmatic, as he carefully illustrated his agenda for demilitarizing Europe step by step.

Lieselotte Wollny spoke emphatically of her discontent as a parliamentarian, in

generation of "Petra Kellys" is about to emerge, as a response to feelings of disenfranchisement among Greens who originally sought a more decentralized political order.

In Bonn we met Jürgen Maier, International Liaison to the Federal Executive Committee of Die Grünen. He joined the party at age 16 in 1979. Since then he has demonstrated his political prowess in advancing the Greens beyond the blocs. He has earned a reputation as somewhat of an "enfant terrible."

We hitched a ride with him to Brussels, for the two-day meeting of the European Greens. That meeting was unprecedented—not only were representatives present for the first time from the US [us], Canada, and New Zealand, but delegates registered from Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Bulgaria, East Germany, as well as the UK, Ireland, France,

see Conference, p. 23

Clearinghouse

able to answer my son when he asks what I did during the war."

To acknowledge splendid Green endeavors and creativity, we humbly announce the front-runners in the Sunflower Awards. Let us know if your group can top these early favorites.

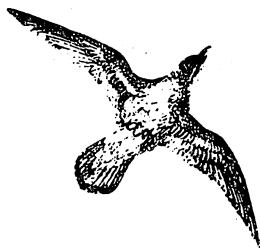
Sunflower Awards:

- FASTEST GROWING LOCAL: Charlotte Greens
- FASTEST GROWING REGION: Southern California
- INNOVATIVE LOCAL STRUCTURE: Columbia Willamette Greens
- SNAZZIEST T-SHIRT: Gateway Green Alliance (Featuring the St. Louis arch as a recycling symbol.)
- MOST ENTERTAINING LOCAL NEWSLETTER: Univ. of Western Florida Greens
- FAITHFUL BOOKKEEPER: New York Green Party, Lorna Salzman (when we can read her handwriting.)
- BEST PARTY: Tampa Bay Greens, "Pay Your Dues Party"
- BEST LETTERHEAD: Nevada County Green Alliance
- BEST ONE-LINER: Kansas City Greens, "Think Globally, Party Locally."
- OTHER CATEGORIES: ???

South Dakota

Although we are a small group, South Dakota Greens have been active during the past six months. In July 1989, SDG publicized the Green movement through an advertisement in *The Lakota Times*, a newspaper which serves "the Lakota Nation and All Indian Country". More recently, South Dakota Greens have been supporting the efforts of the Surface Mining Initiative Fund to put surface mining and solid waste initiatives on the 1990 general election ballot in South Dakota.

Jeff Taylor, GT Correspondent



Spirituality Working Group Coordinator Reflects on SPAKA process

January 15, 1990

Dear SPAKA Participants, IC members, and Interested Parties:

Some of you have heard from me over the phone, but many of you have probably wondered whether or not the Spirituality Working Group is really working. Here is a summary of what has happened since Eugene, including my own personal reflections of problems with the SPAKA process, and why I have felt "stymied" (Christa Slaton, please take note).

I assumed the role of Spirituality Coordinator at the SPAKA conference in Eugene. Although many groups had significant problems with their process in Eugene, I felt that our group worked the way it was supposed to work. This was amazing given the fact that the Spirituality Group was composed of an incredibly diverse bunch of

Cancer Kills Unemployment

Lorna Salzman

DISTRAUT, Mich.—Plager Food & Chemical has released a study showing that the job potential from pollution is increasing each year and far outweighs the number of jobs that would be created by preventing pollution.

"There are now more people making a living off cancer than dying from it," said Ernest Costbenefitratio, chairman of the Plager board of directors, referring to employment in cancer research and treatment. "It would therefore be irresponsible for industries like ours, or cigarette manufacturers, pesticide companies, and those making asbestos, polyvinyl chloride, and PCB's, to close shop. Thousands of breadwinners—doctors, nurses, medical aides, all those keeping the victims of progress alive—would be added to the welfare lines."

Costbenefitratio said the cancer industry will prove especially lucrative in coming years, due to the accelerated rate at which new chemicals are being introduced to the market and to the environment. He referred to an Environmental Protection Agency report showing that vinyl chloride production has increased tenfold over the last 15 years, thus providing countless opportunities to train and employ angiosarcoma specialists. "The comparatively long latency period of this rare, usually fatal form of soft-tissue cancer," he predicted, "will give us enough time to develop new medical personnel, equipment, and treatment methods to prolong the lives of cancer sufferers, as well as develop new toxic chemicals in case present ones are banned."

Also present at the press conference was Thurgood Slick, representative of the Librarian Ship Registry office, who distributed a fact sheet showing that the recent oil spills off Nantucket and in Delaware Bay had provided "socially useful work for disadvantaged youth" who turned out by the hundreds to dispose of beach muck and clean off oil-soaked birds.

Another official, Flack Newkfarm of the Atomic Industrial Forum, pointed out the job potential of nuclear plant accidents. Newkfarm stated that repairs to New York's Indian Point II plant in 1974 required thousands of welders over a period of several months because of the high levels of radioactivity in the work area. Newkfarm said that where a fossil-fuel plant could have been repaired by a dozen men in a week, "clearly nuclear plant accidents are labor-intensive, and with today's rising level of unemployment, we need anything we can get to make jobs."

oping political entity, there was also some attempt to "water down" our statement in the (probably futile) hope that certain sub-groups would not be antagonistic. Because of this, there was a last-minute revision that many of the original working group members found significantly weakened our original formulations.

After Eugene, I never received a list of our working group members which was supposed to be sent to me by our facilitator. I did receive a letter from John Rensenbrink in August clarifying my role as a contact person, which was basically "to produce a refined Text that seems good to you, based, of course, on the input of all those who write you and whom you consult for help and guidance."

I was not overwhelmed with letters. I received six: one from Lorna Salzman of the New York Greens; one from A. Charles Laws in Massachusetts; a "preamble" from someone in the New York Greens whose name

Conference

continued from page 21

Holland, Switzerland, Austria, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Greece, and Belgium. Simultaneous translation was provided during the meeting, with English being the language of choice for press conferences.

The express purpose of the European Green organization and its team of co-Secretaries, is to coordinate the activities of the national Green parties and establish international relationships within the Green Movement. The agenda included reports of the election results for the European and national parliaments, status reports from Eastern Europe, greetings and reports from the extra-continental observers [us, again], discussions of the Siloists in Spain and elsewhere, and drafting a statement of support for the World Forest Campaign.

One outcome was a "common statement," signed by all the groups present, issued at a press conference. The following excerpt talks about a part of geopolitics that becomes more urgent every day: "In the spirit of global harmony, we further recognize that North America is not part of Europe, and therefore we oppose any initiative that supports the continued existence of a post-Cold War NATO."

The meeting also consensed to a statement condemning the Ceausescu government in Romania, only days before its fall.

I have a sample of a myriad of conversations to report, as I was happily prevented from sleeping much.

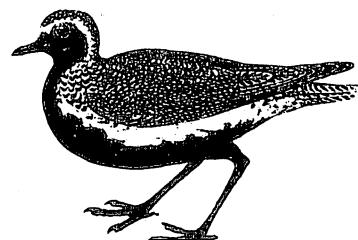
Sara Parkin, the International Liaison Secretary for the UK Green Party, advised us to accelerate the pace of our organizing and electoral activity. She perceives us as having a "fear of leaders" and distrust of delegated authority, an inability to address issues of power. Her critique was echoed by Leo Cox, General-Secretary-elect of the European Greens, and Per Gharton, a Swedish MP and former Euro-Secretary, who both advocated a stronger political posture for US Greens.

The meeting of East and West in Brussels inspired a "new detente" that neither European nor US mainstream parties could fathom. For example, many at the conference deem the highly touted EEC merging in 1992 as tantamount to a new division of Europe. Greens note that the '92 event only directly involves 12 countries, not by any means the whole of Europe. They feel that many countries' social and economic realities call for alternative strategies to a "free market" system, and the western Greens warn Eastern Europeans against the seductive marketing strategies of the hungry West.

There is a wide-spread consensus that we live in an age of dramatic paradoxes. We

can fall into complementary traps, either under- or over-estimating their potentials. Do you remember the contradictory feelings of empowerment and uncertainty when you left your parent's home? Exactly!

The International Working Group of the GCoC is coordinating functions domestically and abroad through the Earth Island Institute. There are heavy demands on our international contacts, so we want to maintain a formal network of contacts through the regions and locals for participation in the International Working Group. If you want to assist, please contact Ross Mirkarimi/International Working Group, GCoC, c/o Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco 94111, 415-788-3666.



was unreadable; information from Joe Peterson in Eugene concerning a world Council of Churches Convocation in Korea; a packet from Cullen Stewart in Maine concerning "plant prohibition"; a message from Dave Cutler in Massachusetts; and a very short note from Dee Berry in Kansas City. In addition, I read Matthew Gilbert's article on spirituality in the December issue of Green Synthesis. Three of the letters I received were directly relevant to the process of refining the Spirituality statement. Consequently, I do not feel that the following "revision" of the SPAKA statement is really a reflection of a broader base than was present in Eugene. Is this the "grassroots"?

However, I did read everyone's letters, discussed the statement with my local Circle, and thought about it a lot. Only two people directly criticized our SPAKA paper; one thought the statement about attempts to formulate a Green spirituality being "temporary and imperfect" was superfluous, and

since I agreed, I omitted the statement. All attempts to formulate all the position papers are temporary and imperfect.

The big "issue" concerning incorporating spirituality into politics seems to be based on the perception by some that spiritual people are either guilt-ridden or have their heads in the clouds or both. The paper Lorna Salzman sent me addressed this issue, as did Matthew Gilbert's article. In either case, the social ecologists seem to think that being spiritual is antithetical to action. However, I did not see anything in our spirituality statement that implied that action was unimportant. As Gilbert expressed it "Calls for a fundamental restructuring of society are not incompatible with the need to honor the interrelated web of our collective existence."

The only other section I changed slightly concerned the emphasis placed on people as "caretakers" of the earth. What I remember from Eugene, and what is reflected in my notes, is an emphasis on recognizing that we

are part of the web of life, and that we need to heal ourselves and the Earth. So I changed a few words in paragraphs 3 and 4 to reflect peoples' comments on that issue.

Other than these few changes, the Green Spirituality statement is basically the same as it was in Eugene. It is not what I would have written by myself, and I don't know if it's any better or worse than an individual statement. However, I did want to respect the work which took place in Eugene, where I did sense a real "grassroots" effort.

Thanks to all who wrote me. I'm sorry I did not respond to all of you personally.

I would appreciate it if you would print this letter in Greener Times or somewhere else so everyone could be aware of the process of refining the SPAKA statements.

Linda Neale, Spirituality Working Group,
Columbia-Willamette Greens

[See Spirituality statement in SPAKA section.—GL]

Greater Kansas City Greens

1989 was a busy and successful year for our local green group. Our membership grew by over 50% and our influence in the city, although harder to measure, is definitely on the rise.

During the year, the recycling working group had many successes including helping to draft a recycling proposal for the city, opening recycling centers, getting a large hospital to discontinue its use of disposable diapers, and educating both Greens and non-Greens on the latest developments in this crucial area. The Organic Connections working group sponsored its third successful conference and continues to work to make safe, organic food available in Kansas City.

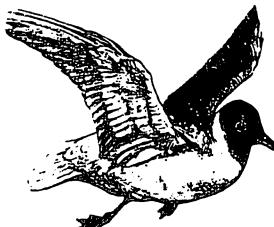
Several new working groups formed during the year, including a Women's Caucus, a Men's Support Group, a Community Building Group, and a Consumer Products Group. One of its members has prepared an Ecological Audit which will soon be published and available to business, church, civic organizations and individuals in the area. Another new group, the Working Group on Toxic Substances, has already demonstrated its effectiveness by being the force behind the Kansas City Council's unanimous vote opposing a hazardous waste incinerator in our area. They are also studying the state of air toxins in Kansas City and will be presenting their findings in public seminars this spring and summer. Their preliminary research points to some serious problems in this area which they intend to expose.

During the year we marched with hundreds of others in Wichita, Kansas, to protest the continued manufacture of CFCs; joined others in the state capitols of Missouri and Kansas, and at home in support of choice for women; and supported the Central America Coalition in its silent protests of our government's policies. We also participated in the anti-apartheid network, endorsed the Privacy Rights Petition Drive to repeal that portion of Missouri's Sexual Misconduct Law which justifies discrimination against lesbi-

ans and gays, and worked with our friends in Kansas City, Kansas, to prevent the building of a dump on the Quindaro ruins, a disastrous location because of its importance to black history and also its proximity to the Missouri River.

Our newest working group, the Politics Working Group, is enthusiastically eyeing the City Council elections in 1991. During the next several months small groups will be meeting to write a platform for a Green Kansas City which will be ratified in Town Meetings next fall. Other groups are developing strategies for outreach, running Green candidates, developing media contacts, influencing non-Green candidates, and getting out the message that there is a viable Green alternative to present politics in Kansas City. We are planning a big St Patrick's Day Green party to launch our new Green Party.

the Kansas City Greens



Ozarks Regional Report

The Ozarks Regional Land Trust (OACC) has a ten-acre walnut tree plantation to demonstrate energy savings through planting trees—funded by a grant from the Ozark Organic Growers Association out of Exxon overcharge money. Springfield, Mozdarks, will be the site for OACC X, planned for September 1990.

Sandra Garcia (North Central Arkansas Greens) recently helped organize a statewide task force, Environmental Education Council of Organizations. EECO is compiling a notebook on environmental education which provides comprehensive access to programs developed by other sources and aims to make this information available through regional education cooperatives.

AFI Greens are developing a regional Earth Day 1990 Envirofair on Mt Sequoyah in Fayetteville to include the broadest possible spectrum of citizens and organizations. Featured will be a "church action" for the environment, with recognition for outstanding ecology projects, exhibits from the state school science fair, and a program for children at the Lake Fayetteville Environmental

Center. Three members of the AFI Greens have been named to a 9-county advisory group for developing a solid waste management plan. Ratepayers stand an excellent chance of recovering money expended on the defeated incinerator project, through a ratepayers' suit filed by Quorum Court member Joe Robson. Members of the AFI Board are in demand as speakers. A monthly newsletter and a weekly environmental page, *The Watchdog*, are published.

Katherine Adam, Ozarks Region

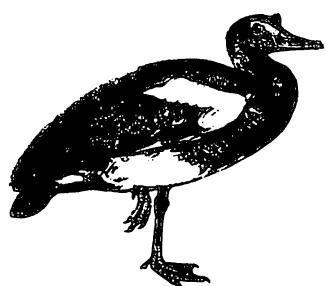


San Diego County

Continues to Green!

The five locals (Canyon Greens, Ocean Beach Greens, North County Coastal Greens, Black Mountain Greens and the Greens of UCSD) are growing and getting recognition and encouragement from the peace and environmental groups in the area. Members from the locals are meeting regularly to work on our Regional Guidelines, while others are hosting the IC meeting March 2-4, to be held at UCSD. There is talk of more locals springing up in the east and south county, and the college campuses are proving to be fertile Green territory. Some locals invite guests from the peace and environmental community to speak at our meetings and we're involved in fundraising, participating in parades, and working on State issues. January 21st we traveled to Tijuana with local Central American peace groups in solidarity with their Mexican counterparts to march and demonstrate against U.S. terror in Central America. What a day! A Green group in T.J. would really be a feather in the cap of Earth. These are "heady" times here in San Diego and we hope to do our part to turn things around, before it's too late.

Kip Krueger, GT Correspondent, San Diego



Eastern Minnesota Greens Buy Land

A Green land base of 160 acres located in east central Minnesota has been acquired by the East Central Minnesota Greens. The semi-wilderness area is to be developed along Green values: organics, not hooking up to the electrical grid but rather using alternative energy sources, and operated with the collective spirit. A land capacity for the new community looks to be ten to twelve family units spread over the 160 acres. Thus far, four families are committed to a Spring 1990 start-up. Any interested Greens should call or write to either Jay or Jane at the Black Cow Inn in Pine City, Mn, 55063, (612)629-7421.

It has been the feeling within the East Central Minnesota Greens for quite some time that a land acquisition was next in order, to demonstrate Green concepts in operation rather than always tending to deal in abstracts and theory. This is a definite step in that direction. The community will host Green retreats, workshops, and the guidelines for the development will be supplied by a board of advisors from the Minnesota and Wisconsin Greens.

Jay Hanson, Changwatana Greens



Taddle Creek Greens

The Taddle Creek Greens (Toronto) have issued a call to other Green and like-minded groups to join their campaign against overpackaging, which has targeted McDonald's outlets. In a call for a November 1989 day of coordinated actions at McDonald's, the Taddle Creek Greens wrote:

"The nature of the actual event is to be determined by each participating group. The Kitchener/Waterloo Greens are suggesting an "Eat In" where people would bring washable dishes, cutlery and mugs and demand to be served on them rather than on disposables. The Taddle Creek Greens suggest dressing up in garbage bags with McDonald's garbage attached to the outside. This would be a great stunt while handing out literature. The Guelph Greens suggest setting up a

wash basin and handing clean plates and cutlery to customers as they enter McDonald's."

Approximately 15 groups planned events for the November actions, and found other environmental groups, schools, and the media very receptive to the ideas. If other groups are interested in participating in the campaign, contact:

Frank de Jong of the Taddle Creek Greens,
11-238 Davenport Road, Toronto, Ontario
MSR-1J6, (416)532-9784.



Dear Environmentalists:

Just this morning I was reading a Canadian Environment report entitled *Our Fragile Future* (10/7/89), published by the Southam Newspapers. The message was clear: "Changing course is a matter of saving a fragile species...There is very little time left...What we do or don't do in the next decade will largely set the course..."

As a concerned Green and permaculture practitioner, I am very perplexed that so little energy is going into SUSTAINABILITY, especially around LIFESTYLE, as it is our lifestyle that threatens the future.

Much is discussed on the subject of garbage, toxics, soil erosion, acidity, urban sprawl, deforestation, dying oceans, etc., etc., but little is said about SUSTAINABILITY and LIFESTYLE. Obviously we can't go on consuming and polluting and "raping" the environment without imminent ECOLAPSE; the terms we use for economic and ecological disintegration..., human demise.

How must we live if a sustainable future is to be realized? What kind of changes will be obligatory? How do we begin?

I am writing this letter to make contact with friends who are also concerned with creative/sustainable lifestyle models, with living alternatives. If we are to salvage an increasingly fragile future, we must put our best endeavors toward sustainable agriculture, industry, development, housing, energy, population, technology, relationships, wilderness, etc., etc. We wish to network with "Sustainability Consciousness".

Sincerely,

T. Bruce Shearer for Namaste Greens,
New Hampshire

GCOC reports

Calling all Green Video Heads!

Are you interested in helping with the production of a video documentary on the "Emergence of the U.S. Greens?"

Randall Burton is a professional (truly Green & grassroots) video producer, based in the San Francisco Bay Area, who has been researching Greens for some years, and now has the means to put his time and energy into a much-needed documentary on our movement. Right now the project is in preproduction stages, with shooting to start in late Spring, early Summer 1990. Footage from all over the U.S., the Boulder Gathering, and 1991 gathering will be included, with the final piece ready for distribution by the end of 1991. It will be created with Green organizers' needs in mind.

We (the existing Greens Documentary Working Group) will be sending info/questionnaire packets to members of locals interested in helping with the video in any capacity. (Meaning those who have skills and experience to share, have suggestions for subjects to interview, those who can feed and/or put the crew up overnight when they're in your area (!), etc.) Ultimately there will be a West Coast crew, Mid-West crew, and East Coast crew of like-minded Green folks lending talents for the project. The West Coast crew is already forming, and East Coast is on its way.

If you're interested in helping, please contact: Jo Beaton, GREENS DOC c/o S.F. Greens, 777 Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94110, or feel free to call (415) 821-7227.



Milwaukee Area Greens

Earth Day. Local organizing for Earth Day 1990 is under way. Earlier this November the Earth Day 1990-Milwaukee Area Coalition was initiated to serve as a network node for local activities. Presently there is a team of people co-ordinating major as well as community-based festivals, and another group focusing on direct action events (including but not limited to tree planting).

Fall gathering: Over 40 Greens from all over Wisconsin as well as from Michigan and Minnesota gathered at the Indian Community School in Milwaukee on October 28-29 for their Fall Gathering, hosted by the Milwaukee Area Greens. The event was co-sponsored by the Wisconsin Greens and the Upper Great Lakes Green Network.

The work began in earnest at Jeff Egan's Organizer Training Workshop. The all-day session focused on the identification of issues Greens could use to help organize in their groups and communities. We looked first at how to identify an "issue" as opposed to a problem. Issues are deeply felt, widely shared, winnable and provide useful victories for building local organizations. An important part of any issue is the potential for redistribution of power in the community. Simplicity and ease of communication around the issue were also stressed.

Sunday morning brought out the business side of the Greens. We started with a joint meeting of the Wisconsin Greens and the Upper Great Lakes Green Network (UGLGN). We shared our common concerns and values and decided there was both room and a need for both groups. At the joint meeting consensus was reached on two resolutions. One was to "support a moratorium on any further mining in the ceded territories of Northern Wisconsin until a comprehensive, region-wide Environmental Impact Statement is prepared; such statement to consider the cumulative, long-term effects mining might have on the ecology of Northern Wisconsin," the other to support the co-management of resources in Wisconsin,

Michigan, and Minnesota between the sovereign Chippewa Nation and these respective states. It was agreed that the only solution to the racist reaction to the Chippewa spearfishing is respect between the nations involved and protection of resources by all parties. [See Winter 1989 *Green Letter—GL*]

It was also agreed that the UGLGN should become the regional affiliate of the GCOC, in place of the Wisconsin Greens, to more accurately reflect the regional character in the GCOC structure. Each of the groups then held separate business meetings.

The gathering ended with a vigil at the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources regional office to protest the siting of hazardous and medical waste incinerators in Kenosha, Germantown and Ixonia. The vigil was co-ordinated by the Kenosha group.

(Edited by George Franklin)



Oregon Greens

The six months following the program conference have been a time of reflection and relative calm for the Southern Willamette Green Assembly. After a burst of enthusiasm and the generation of about eight working groups, there has been a shaking out process leaving the politics, spirituality and co-operative economics as the basic committees within the Assembly.

The Green House, with new residents, has taken on a more vital and autonomous identity. The ideal of developing a public eco-home model while nurturing a small community remains the guiding light. The fear of having the Assembly depend on only one Green House without putting the energy into developing many of them has been an ongoing topic of discussion.

New by-laws were approved in November, giving us a much firmer legal basis if we choose to move ahead in the 90s with non-profit organizing. Groups who wish to use

our model can download off Peacenet, or write to Jim Richmond at the Kansas City GCoC Clearinghouse for a copy.

Earth Day Celebrations will begin the first weekend in March when Petra Kelly, Vandana Shiva, David Brower, Denis Hayes, Carolyn Merchant, and guests from around the world will visit the University of Oregon to see the "Shrine of Spaka". Just kidding, but all these folks will be here for our annual environmental law conference which this year will feature global Green politics as one of its themes. For Earth Day the Greens have been instrumental in setting up a three month series entitled "Labor, Toxics, and the Environmental Movement." Tony Mazzocchi, Richard Grossman, and several local and regional activists will help us develop a strategy for coalition building.

Finally, the Assembly as a whole is looking to our regional neighbor, Columbia-Willamette, as a model for further organizing. The circle model of neighborhood affinity groups seems to meet the needs of many of our longtime members who feel we have not done all we might in the area of community building. Given the generally positive reports we've heard of the growth and health of the C-W Greens, we are looking to ways of adopting some of their ideas and urge all locals to study the circle model of organizing closely.

PS—if any CoC is interested in promoting Malcolm X's birthday as a special celebration—May 19—please let us know. Several of us are brainstorming about ways of keeping that great civil rights leader's memory alive and present as we move into the 90s.

Jeff Land, SWGA, Oregon

Mesechabe Magazine

The Delta Greens announce a special double issue of the magazine *Mesechabe*. This issue is on "Green Arts" and includes pieces on Southeastern Indian culture and art, Inana and Goddess mythology, American Black oral traditions, and the politics of puppets. The 60-page magazine is produced on high-quality, heavy-weight paper (recycled of course), and contains short stories, poetry and beautiful graphics as well as articles and environmental news. *Mesechabe* is supported by the Delta Greens. One year subscription (4 issues) is \$10: *Mesechabe*, 7725 Chon St., New Orleans, LA 70118.

California Proportional Representation Initiative

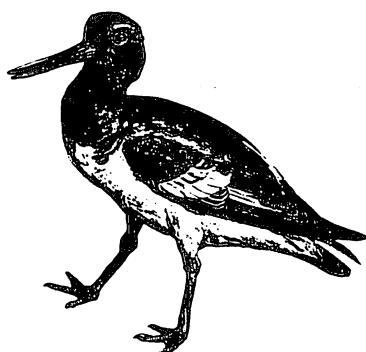
The Canyon Greens and the Greens of San Diego Regional Confederation are among the sponsors of an attempt to put a proportional representation initiative on the November 1990 California ballot. The initiative would change the California State Assembly from its current eighty electoral districts to a system of eight districts each selecting ten Assembly members by proportional election. The 40 member State Senate would still be chosen by winner take all election.

Party primaries would be used to select the ten candidates for each district, with candidates ranked by their primary votes. Independent candidates would get on the general election ballot by petition. In the general election, each voter could cast one vote for a party or an independent candidate. For every 10% of the total vote any party received, one of its primary candidates would be seated in the Assembly, again in order of the primary vote. Independent candidates receiving over 10% of the total vote would also get an Assembly seat.

The initiative is being sponsored by V.O.T.E.R.s, Volunteers Organized Toward Electoral Reform. Besides Greens, the coalition includes the Peace and Freedom, Libertarian and American Independent parties. Endorsements and assistance of other California Greens are being solicited. The coalition has until the end of March to gather the required signatures to qualify the initiative.

San Diego Green Daniel Tarr stated that proportional representation has been crucial to Green electoral successes in Europe, and will be similarly important in the U.S. Those wishing to assist in the initiative campaign can contact either:

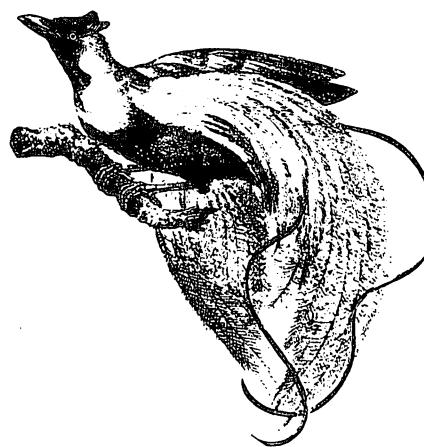
Daniel Tarr, 619-588-4863,
V.O.T.E.R.s, 9616 Caminito Tizona, San
Diego, CA 92126.



Swedish Green Party founder and parliamentarian visits Los Angeles

With interest growing in the formation of a California Green Party, it was particularly apropos that Los Angeles' Westside Greens recently hosted Swedish Green Party founder Per Gahrton. Gahrton is one of 20 Swedish Greens elected to the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament) in 1988, the first time a new party entered that body in 70 years. He's also one of the four co-secretaries for all 19 European Green parties at the European Parliament in Brussels. Gahrton's stay in Los Angeles was part of a month-long North American tour that, together with his photojournalist wife Ulla, also included New York, Kansas City, San Francisco, Vancouver, and Montreal.

Not knowing what to expect, Gahrton was frankly surprised by the level of local Green activity. Day one began with tabling and registering Green voters on the Venice



Beach boardwalk. Later that night, he attended an Alliance for Survival New Year's Eve party where Westside Green Mike Feinstein was scheduled to speak. When Feinstein announced to the crowd of over 200 that there would be a California Green Party on the state ballot in 1992, the hall erupted into a several minutes-long uninterrupted applause.

Spurred on by this, Gahrton met with potential Green candidates Mindy Lorenz (Ventura) and Susan Packer Davis (Santa Monica), and urged them on to the electoral arena. In talks throughout the week, he acknowledged the growing pains of party building, particularly the challenge of accountability between movement and party. But he stressed the need to move ahead, re-

minding that accountability is a dynamic of the political process, rather than a precondition.

As example he cited the relative autonomy given to their spokespeople, who are selected on the basis of their expertise and then trusted to make representative statements.

The highlights of Gahrton's trip were many. Together with Feinstein, he taped an interview on Nancy Pearlman's long-running Ecology Program, which plays on Southern California #1 rated FM station KPWR, and is also syndicated nationally. He had lunch at the Los Angeles Times with several former foreign bureau chiefs and breakfast with state Assemblyperson Tom Hayden. He also spoke to 60+ regional Greens at a private home gathering. But the climax came on his final day in LA.

First came a live appearance, together with Westside Green Carl Boggs, on the nation's largest talk-radio program, "KABC Talk Radio with Michael Jackson (no, not the singer). Normally guests get a 1/2 hour to an hour, but the call-in response was so overwhelming that Per and Carl were kept on for two full hours. Later that night, Gahrton spoke to a Westside Green Public Forum audience of over 300. In both appearances, he brought out how 100 years ago, socialism was just beginning as a response to the lack of social justice analysis in liberalism and now it has enjoyed practically a century of prominence. The Green movement, he suggested, is the historical next step, because it answers the environmental questions associated with unlimited economic growth.

Gahrton has already written a book in Swedish on the Greens, *Vad Vill De Gröna?* [What do the Greens want?]. Seeing the interest in the Greens here, he's decided to write another, updated book in English and then tour this country in promotion in 1992. This can be especially beneficial to the CoC's who may be running local candidates at that time. To arrange for a stop in your bioregion, write

Per Gahrton, Riksdagsledamot Riksdagen S-100-12 Stockholm, Sweden.

Tel: 46-8-786 45 99

GCOC reports

California Green Party Born

February 4, 1990

Suddenly, the California Green Assembly meeting came to a halt, as everyone leaned forward to hear ABC's local affiliate come through a "Sony Watchman"—"Today was a historic day. Sixty Green activists from all areas of California gathered in Sacramento to launch a new political party, the Green party of California." These words of Nevada County Green Kent Smith, followed minutes later by Santa Clara River Green Mindy Lorenz on CBS, announced to thousands what had that day become reality—the formal commitment of California Greens to grow into a new political party, representative of a multi-racial and environmentally healthy California.

As everyone settled back into their seats to enjoy the euphoria of co-creating a historical moment, there was a sense they'd matured into a new identity and liked the way the hat fit. Their nine-hour meeting had been a model of cohesion. Besides forming the party, these California Greens had interviewed and provisionally accepted a pro bono lobbyist for the state capitol, ratified a procedure for endorsing state-wide initiatives, recommended that all CoC's form electoral working groups, issued a statement of support of the Ocean Protection Act to be taken to Washington, D.C. as part of national lobbying efforts, discussed the relationship between movement and party, including both party-CoC and party-kindred groups like Greenpeace and Earth Island, and formed working groups on electoral procedures, platform and candidate generation, media, and outreach and alliance building.

Approximately 80,000 Green voter registrations will put the party on the state ballot for the November, 1992 elections. Towards that end, the next state meeting, scheduled for Southern California on March 24-25, will include invited labor, black, latino, Central America, education, and other community leaders. Plans are also underway for issue-oriented party posters, celebrity fundraising concerts, and college-campus speaking tours.

GCoC members involved Earth Day Wall St. Action

As we approach the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, corporations and politicians are saying they are on our side. They are waving the green flag of ecology, making a mockery of people's desires for a truly democratic and ecological world.

Corporations and their government allies are trying to deflect attention away from themselves—away from their boardrooms where decisions are made daily that result in the poisoning and devastation of the earth and its peoples. Like a cancer, this system eats away at everything from the forests to the oceans to our own bodies.

The corporate economy is incompatible with ecological responsibility. The entire system depends on the ability of a few to convert the planet and all its people into profit. Its appetite is limitless and will not be sated until the entire planet is consumed. The corporate elite is profiting from destroying forests, building nuclear weapons, and poisoning our food and water.

So Come to Wall Street!

Wall Street is the center of this system. Wall Street houses the banks, stock traders, insurance operators and corporate headquarters. It is a faceless, unaccountable bureaucracy where our future is bought, sold and traded at whim.

On Monday April 23, the day after Earth Day, people from across the country will meet to Shut Down Wall Street! We will fill the streets with people, disrupting "business as usual" with our own Celebration of Life. We will bring costumes, music, theater, trees and symbols of both corporate waste and the earth's regeneration. Affinity groups prepared in nonviolent direct action will blockade the Stock Exchange and other centers of corporate plunder. We will illustrate the connections between the poi-

soning of the earth and the destruction of our communities. We will demonstrate that the only real solution to the ecological crises is to end oppression in all its forms: oppression by corporations, governments, and patriarchal and racist institutions. We want grassroots political and economic democracy: people empowered to meet our common needs together in a truly ecological manner

Members of GCoC initiate:

Scroll of Anger and Mourning
Earth Day Wall Street Action
February 8, 1990

Dear Members of the Green Committees of Correspondence,

An invitation: Tell your story on Wall Street!

Has your community suffered from runaway corporations? From corporations with special tax breaks that make your financial burdens even greater? From corporations that contaminate the air, water, soil and habitat as in Woburn, Massachusetts where 20 children died of leukemia from W.R. Grace's TCE? From government-sponsored pollu-

See Wall St. p. 44



Greens Advance in Elections

In fall 1989, Green activists ran for office in a number of city and county elections, as Greens, as independents, or as environmentally-aware Democrat candidates. Here are some of the results:

Jay Gustafarro, a longtime Clamshell Alliance activist and Cape Ann Green, was elected November 7 to the Gloucester, Massachusetts City Council. In a very tough field of ten for four at-large seats, Gustafarro came in a solid fourth. Partisan labels do not appear on municipal election ballots in Massachusetts. So Gustafarro, a fisherman, ran as an environmentalist and a working person's candidate against the greater financing and business backing of his opponents. He ran against a proposed trash incinerator, against the Seabrook nuke, and for affordable housing. This was Gustafarro's second attempt, after narrowly losing two years ago.

Helen Norris, a grassroots environmentalist in the Ingleside area of Holyoke, just missed election to the Holyoke city council in her first attempt, November 7. The final vote was incumbent 1147, Norris 1001. Norris is active in Citizens for a Quality Environment, a group which in 1986 stopped a proposed trash incinerator in a precedent setting decision by the Massachusetts Environmental Protection Agency. It was the first trash incinerator in the U.S. to be denied a siting permit on the basis of health concerns.

Ed Cyr won a seat on the Cambridge city council, November 7. Cyr is an old Clamshell Alliance activist and active in North Cambridge Toxic Alert and Cambridge Citizens for Liveable Neighborhoods. Several Greens in Cambridge were active in Cyr's campaign.

Cambridge elections are conducted under the single transferable vote system of proportional representation, the last remaining election district in the U.S. with any system of proportional representation. Cyr was elected to the 9 member council along with 6 other candidates endorsed by Cambridge Tenants Union, which supports rent control and neighborhood control of development.

New Bedford, Massachusetts environmentalists in the No Coal Coalition put a nonbinding referendum on the November 7 ballot for New Bedford. The referendum

opposed two large coal co-generation plants proposed for an industrial park in New Bedford that is a just a few blocks from residential neighborhoods. The referendum passed by a 2 to 1 margin.

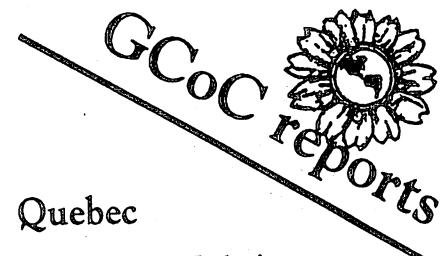
The No Coal Coalition spent only about \$500 in their campaign, while corporations behind the coal plants spent several \$100,000 and made the usual claims about jobs and taxes and how the latest "clean" technology would be used.

Environmentalists are now looking to take on similar proposed plants in Freetown. Meanwhile, a New Bedford state representative has introduced legislation for the establishment of Coal Free Zones in Massachusetts.

Charlie Adler of the Eastern Massachusetts Greens received 42% as a mayoral candidate against a two-term incumbent in Attleboro, Massachusetts, November 7. Adler addressed environmental issues, affordable housing, and development priorities that are choking off downtown business with malls and strip development on the outskirts of this city of 36,000. He called for citywide leaf composting, reduced rates for train travel to the downtown business district, the preservation of open space, and slower responsible development in Attleboro.

In their first election outing, the Ithaca Greens elected two of their members who ran on the Democratic ticket to the Ithaca, New York Common Council and helped dislodge an incumbent mayor who they opposed for his misdirected development priorities and the undemocratic character of his city administration. The Greens emphasized environmental issues, affordable housing, and neighborhood-oriented development priorities.

Joyce Brown, a member of the Orange County Greens, was elected to the Chapel Hill, N.C. Town Council on November 7. Her campaign stressed citizen participation in the process of town government, environmental issues, increased public transportation, and affordable housing.



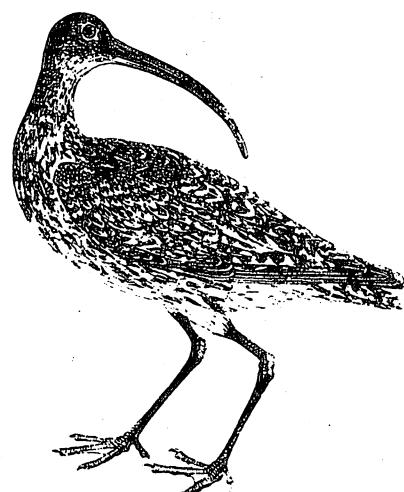
Quebec

On November 5, the insurgent Rassemblement Populaire (RP), or Popular Regroupment, overturned 25 years of Civic party rule in Québec City. Coming into this election, RP had 2 city council seats and Civic had 19 plus the mayor. But on November 5, RP won 16 out of 21 seats and the mayor's office. Two of the RP candidates elected are radical ecologists in Amis-es de la terre de Québec.

The last 25 years had seen Civic turn Québec City into a high rise, commercial center to the detriment of neighborhood quality of life and cost of living. The bureaucracy swelled under Civic, rife with machine patronage and corruption.

The RP program called for neighborhood oriented development priorities, a grassroots-democratic restructuring of the city government, and a strong environmental program. RP's development program emphasized low income housing and dispersed neighborhood-based retailing. Its democratization program calls for referendum by citizen initiative, neighborhood assemblies with strong legislative powers, and a bicameral city council with one branch elected by proportional representation and the other from the neighborhood assemblies. Its environmental program calls for full recycling, composting of sewer sludge, and a clean up of the St. Charles

Howard Hawkins, New England Green Alliance



GCoC Greens speak out

What is Progress for the Green Movement?

As part of our theme for this issue, "What is Progress?", the Green Letter Collective asked a half-dozen GCoC Greens around North America to comment in 1-200 words on the question: "Apart from growth in numbers, what would "Progress" mean for the North American Greens over the next few years?"

Christa Slaton, Auburn Greens

Progress for the Green Movement can be measured as degrees of coming together to develop a workable Greens CoC policy program and effective strategy for implementation. The key, though, is how the Greens come together. In other words, the process is the message. The social and political transformation that progress entails, rests significantly on the degree to which Greens evolve in their own interpersonal and intramovement transformation. In order to reach agreement on a program, the Greens need to take a difficult and risky step. They need to cultivate a level of trust in the Green Community that encourages them to listen to one another, and truly respect each other.

Progress in working together and developing consensus increases when colleagues are not always looking for hidden agendas and promoting self-interest, but instead focus on commonalities and the many ways to cooperate and synergize. Exercising trust, and refining listening skills, are essential steps in developing a mature, healthy and effective Green movement that really respects and appreciates diversity while progressing in achievement of shared goals based on shared values.



Nick Maravell, Potomac Valley Green Network

- Feeling a greater sense of community and shared purpose among kindred local groups, across regions and especially across continents.
- Broadening the perception of the Green Movement beyond environmental issues.

- Finding, coaxing and running more Green candidates for state and local offices. Initiating democratic reforms, such as proportional representation.
- Articulating and demonstrating a convincing economic program. Beginning the conversion now!
- Taking more local action; starting more local projects; reducing time spent on rhetoric and theory; evolving a Green Program from deed, not words.
- Building a greater expectation of democratic accountability and social equity on our continent.



Rick Whaley, Milwaukee Greens (What Is Progress for the Greens?)

It sounds like one of the words we're trying to reclaim from industrial-political culture. Let 'em have it. I prefer words we claim, like: "sustainability," "holistic vision," "old values in a modern context," and, above all, "healing."

If we're going to talk about progress, how about: rapid progress to zero infant mortality rate, zero toxins, zero imports of debilitating drugs.



Jess Shoup, East Bay Green Alliance A Wish List For The Green Movement:

- Equal balance within the Green movement as a whole and the IC in particular between women and men, with equal participation and equal respect. Perhaps we need the 51% rule here.
- Clear, workable, sensible, useable process, that is spelled out clearly and used by every arm of the GCoC Green movement at all times (not just when it's necessary or someone's looking).

- A secretary to take minutes at the IC meetings so all delegates would know what we've consensed to. A history of what has been consensed to at all previous IC meetings. Regular and timely distribution of IC minutes to the locals for feedback. (Locals are supposed to read and consense to what the IC has done, and can—hypothetically—block any IC action. Did you know that?)
- A number of agreed-upon spokespeople for the American CoC Green movement, so we can explain ourselves to the media instead of vice versa.
- A systematic program which encourages leadership within the movement instead of stoning it.
- An understanding that Green spirituality doesn't mean we want to make you attend a Green church, but that we care for all parts and aspects of this planet—including each other.
- A realization that we're all in this together, and instead of fighting and putting each other down over real or perceived differences that probably don't matter a lot in this "do or die decade," we need to be working together for survival of the species.



Dee Berry, Prairie Greens What is Progress anyway?

To be Green is to question all of the concepts we have inherited from the modern, industrial age. A truly new polity will require a shift in perception; and none more than our perception of progress.

For progress has been the driving force of industrialization. The values of "Western Man"—growth, rationality, competition, getting ahead—can all be subsumed in one word, progress. During the Renaissance, society replace the "God-given" values of the medieval church with the notion of natural laws and linear progress toward perfection through science and reason. William I. Thompson claims, "The concept of prog-

ress established the metaphysical foundation for industrial society." And Christopher Lasch sees progress as the "last great superstition."

So how do Greens move out of this cultural indoctrination that success is measured by our products; by those things which we can count, see and measure? Of course we need to grow; we need more Greens and more local Green groups if we are to have political clout. But clout for what? That is the question we need to grapple with. Numbers are not important unless those counted are learning to integrate values with actions. Local groups coming together will be just more meetings unless the groups are evolving into loving communities grounded in a deep respect for diversity. And conflict will tear us apart until we begin to see it as creative force.

Progress toward these kinds of things is what is important, but these are the things that cannot be measured, and ahead may not be necessarily better. Perhaps the whole notion of progress as a driving force needs to be integrated into a more holistic form of human activity called celebration.



Ingrid Komar, Potomac Valley Green Network

What the Greens Need to Grow:

The Boulder (SPA KA) Conference will be a crucial turning point for the Greens. We desperately need a policy statement to give us a political identity, and to provide a basis for action on local, regional, national and international levels. I am not convinced we will get that this time around.

The document that came out of Eugene (1989 SPAKA) was many things—occasionally moving, poetic, philosophical. But it was not a blueprint for the praxis of Green politics. It failed entirely to address critical issues such as foreign policy or, for example, the penal system, and it lacked specificity on economics (taxes, the budget, trade, labor etc) and other vital matters.

The League of Women Voters, undeniably an organization of diverse political philosophies, annually studies and then arrives at detailed positions on issues of political importance by consensus, no less. Chapters are then free to take action on such

positions in the name of the league (or to desist from action, if they so choose). Clearly, the task before us is do-able.

The studies conducted by the League are rigorous. As a result, members are well-prepared to speak and act on their positions. They have earned the respect of the media and of many elected officials. The League has political clout. Although this takes hard work, the Greens are perfectly capable of the same achievement. If we intend to operate in the real world, we need "to put hard numbers on soft dreams."

I see a clear program on issues as fundamental to fund raising, to motivating our present membership, to attracting new members, to successful electoral politics.

My hope is that a clear program will also propel us into new organizational modes. The IC, which I understand was never intended as a permanent organizational form, is not moving us anywhere. Its consistently changing membership and its unwieldy size preclude it from effective functioning. It meets to discuss itself and its sporadic tri-annual existence—an activity hardly conducive to putting Greens on the political map. Just as the real work of Congress is done in the committees, we probably need issue-oriented working groups. Once we have achieved unity on the issues, perhaps we will be inspired to design a representative organizational form for inter-regional working groups that can live up to their name: working.

In these matters, as in all matters, I believe, content determines form. Therefore, in this complex world, Greens—like everyone else—need to be crystal clear about what they want, demand, hope to achieve. Then, and only then, they can act on it. Then, and only then, can they attract others in significant numbers.



John Rensenbrink, Merrymeeting Greens

Progress is happening! California and Michigan Greens have formed political parties. Maine just had the best statewide meeting ever and has formed a '92 Committee looking towards electoral action that year. A friend, citizen Will Grennan of Jamaica Plain Greens, told me just now he is running for Neighborhood Council in Bos-

ton. Nationally, we've got a new Electoral Action Group. The Clearinghouse is growing and growing stronger every month! Fund Raising is at last hitting the ground running. Momentum is growing for the Boulder Gathering in September. And Greens may be able to respect each other's politics enough to pull together with others for a great Wall Street Action day after Earth Day.

Our goals are to help save the earth and people's livelihoods and to have joy along the way. Hard work! Big expectations! As T.S. Eliot wrote, we need to learn "to care and not to care." Community is our message: for ourselves, in our groups and networks, and for the society in which we live. From this springs our actions. From this we generate an alternative political force not to "save the world," or for the newest crusade, but to be a catalyst that helps the world and the earth to save itself.

[The theme for our next issue is "Movement Building." GCoC Green members are welcome to submit replies of 1-200 words for consideration in this space.]

9th Annual Fourth World Assembly, July 11-15, 1990, meets in Texas

"Community Empowerment for the Ecological Age"

Keynote speakers:

Kirkpatrick Sale, Helen Nearing, Judith Plant, and John Papworth.

What is meant by the "Fourth World?" The Fourth World appears whenever and wherever small communities, small nations or small regions rise up to challenge the overriding bigness that so damages both individual persons and the planetary environment.

The core of the meeting will be four forums:

- Strategies for Geo-Economic Transformation
- Strategies for Geo-Cultural Transformation
- The Bioregion
- The Small Community

In addition to these forums, there will be Workshops, Plenary Gatherings, Celebrative Evenings, and Sharing Circles. For a brochure and registration form on this assembly write Realistic Living, PO Box 140826, Dallas TX 75214.

Last Rain Forest in United States Under Threat

At the invitation of the U.S. Rainforest Action Network, John Seed and Patrick Anderson of Lismore's Rainforest Information Centre and Mickey Dulas of California's Redwood Action team visited Hawaii where they organized a series of eight presentations on three islands to help galvanize opposition to a geothermal power plant which, should it proceed, will destroy Wao Kele O Puna—the last tropical rainforest in the United States. This forest is situated on the flanks of the live volcano Kilauea in the most volcanically active region of the world.

If this development proceeds, we will see the sinking of several hundred wells into the volcano to generate steam to drive turbines. Deadly hydrogen sulfide gas vented from these wells will poison the rainforest, and brine from the wells which the company plans to release on the surface will complete the job. These effects are obvious in an earlier 2-1/2 MW geothermal plant which has been operating for some years adjacent to the town of Pahoa. This plant was recently closed due to complaints and sickness from the neighborhood. This is one reason

why the proposed wells (generating two hundred times as much energy as the current well) are to be situated in forest.

Unfortunately, many animals and plants are even more susceptible to the noxious gases than humans (which is why they used to take canaries into coal mines) and we can be sure of utter devastation in the forests if the project proceeds.

Only 28,000 acres of this forest type remain. As Hawaii is the most isolated place in the world, this forest is teeming with endemics (95% of the flowering plants and 97% of the animals are found nowhere else in the world) and so this development promises a veritable spate of extinctions.

An eight acre clearing was recently bulldozed for the first geothermal well and protests are increasingly determined. On October 29, 1989, following Nonviolent Action (NVA) training with the Rainforest Information Centre team, civil disobedience was invoked for the first time and eighty protesters blocked the roads leading to the forest and held up five semi-trailers loaded with drilling equipment. Three hours and five arrests later, the equipment continued its way up the volcano. More protests are planned on the Big Island and in Maui and Honolulu.

The volcano is sacred to the Native Hawaiian religion and this issue is generating a powerful alliance between native Hawaiians who see the drilling as a desecration of the Goddess Pele and conservationists who claim that unless the U.S. can protect its last remaining rainforests from destructive development, there is little hope in persuading the poorer nations in the Third World to protect their dwindling rainforests.

Inspired by Dulas, Seed and Anderson's film screenings of the Terania, Franklin River and Daintree actions, local conservationists have appealed to U.S. citizens from the mainland to join in the struggle which promises to be a watershed in the campaign to protect the rainforests of the world.

The Pele Defense Fund and the Hawaiian Rainforest Action Groups

invite concerned conservationists worldwide to take part in their actions either by coming to Hawaii for a while or by organizing support actions in other places.

If you are interested in helping defend the rainforest please call or write the Pele Defense Fund, PO Box 404, Volcano HI 96785, (808)935-1663.

John Seed, Lismore Rainforest Information Centre, Australia

Tour Schedule

continued from p. 15

Stop Nuclear Testing Tour:

Local Coordinators

SALT LAKE CITY UT Thurs March 8-Fri March 9

Brian Meacham/Page/Utah Peace Test (801) 533-9205; 355-0299 (h)
Box 11416, Salt Lake City, UT 84147

CHEYENNE WY Sat March 10

Lorraigne Holcum/Wyoming Against the MX (307) 635-2828 (h)
Box 5713, Cheyenne, WY 82003

DENVER CO Sun March 11

Cary Leher/Col. Coal. for the Prev. of Nuc. War (303) 757-3897 (h)
3981 S Dahlia St, Englewood, CO 80110

BOULDER CO Mon March 12-Tues March 13

Michael Terry/Rocky Mt Peace Center (303) 444-6981
Box 1156, Boulder, CO 80306

COLORADO SPRINGS CO Wed March 14

Bob Fisher/Cath Finney (719) 632-8342 (h)
25 N7th St, Colorado Springs, CO 80905

ALBUQUERQUE NM Fri March 16-Sat March 17

Robin/Albuquerque Peace and Justice Center (505) 268-9557
144 Harvard St, Albuquerque, NM 87106

PHOENIX AZ Mon March 19-Tues March 20

Bonnie/Francisco Renewal Center (602) 948-7460
Box 220, Scottsdale, AZ 85252

TUCSON AZ Wed March 21-Thurs



"Forests Forever" Initiative

In 1985 Pacific Lumber was bought out by Maxxam Corporation, giving birth to yet another huge corporate junk bond debt. Only this debt is being serviced by the attempted clear cutting of the limited remains of California's old growth redwood forest. Since the buyout, Maxxam has tripled its cutting rate to 10,000 acres per year.

Next on Maxxam's list is Headwaters Forest, a 3000 acre old growth redwood forest in Humboldt county. Headwaters is the largest unprotected ancient forest in the U.S. Earth First!, the Environmental Protection Information Center, Greens, the Forests Forever coalition and others are defending the ecology of northern California forests with a two-fold strategy.

Legal challenges, protests and direct actions are planned to protect Headwaters and other groves from any immediate cutting, should the California Dept. of Forestry approve any timber harvest plans. Meanwhile, on Feb. 15, Forests Forever will begin gathering signatures to qualify the Forest and Wildlife Protection Initiative for the Nov. 1990 California ballot.

This initiative will ban clear cutting, or any harvest of ancient redwoods (some older than 2000 years). It will provide \$740 million in bonds to acquire unprotected forest habitats. The initiative specifies sustainable harvesting practices, protects ecosystems and threatened wildlife, and mandates a State Forestry board more representative of community and environmental interests.

Only 5%, about 100,000 acres, of California's ancient forests remain. 150 trees



Clearcuts east of Fort Bragg, California, August 1989

are felled each day. Clearcutting has doubled in the last decade, fueled mostly by the need to feed corporate debt. Forest habitats and future logging jobs are threatened by over-cutting, at levels 250-300% beyond sustainable yields. Mill employment is falling, as 25% of harvested logs are exported whole to Japan. The initiative mandates sustainable harvest practices to preserve forest habitats and insure stable community resources and employment.

To qualify the initiative for the November ballot, 600,000 signatures must be gathered in 150 days, starting on Feb. 15. Petition gatherers, full time coordinators and funds are needed. For more information, or to

render support, call or write:

Forests Forever
106 W. Standley
Ukiah, CA 95482
707-462-2370

Information for this report was gathered from Forests Forever, S.F. Bay Area Earth First! Action Alert, and Mark MacDonald. Further information on the initiative process can be gotten from David Schmidt, Director of Initiative Resource Center in San Francisco, CA, or from his book "Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution," Temple Univ Press, 1989 Quebec and west of the Appalachian mountains.

March 22

Jack/Nuclear Resistor (602) 323-8697
(h)

Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733

SAN DIEGO CA Sat March 24-Sun

March 25

Jim Jacobson/San Diego Alliance for
Survival (619) 277-0991
Box 33583, San Diego, CA 92103



LOS ANGELES CA Mon March 26-
Wed March 28

to be confirmed

LAS VEGAS/NEVADA TEST SITE
NV Thurs March 29-?

Peter/Mary/Nevada Desert Experience (702) 646-4814
Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127

Nicaragua

continued from p. 3



significant cash base. Clearly a big cash flow guarantees nothing with regard to development, but the lack of even a trickle can have profound effects because possibilities for initiating projects and programs are severely curtailed. From an environmental point of view this can be disastrous. For example, a difficult situation arose in 1987, when CORFOP, the state forestry company, signed a contract with several logging companies based in Costa Rica to cut significant areas of old-growth rainforest along the Rio San Juan. The argument was that Nicaragua, in its cash flow crisis, could not afford the luxury of preserving a rainforest for posterity, or even for future higher cash returns. In the absence of the cash flow crisis the issue may never have surfaced in the first place, given the Sandinista's general attitude towards conservation. Fortunately in this case the issue was brought to the attention of the public by ABEN, the Nicaraguan Association of Ecologists and Biologists, and the contract was eventually blocked. Indeed it is nothing short of amazing that the contract could have been blocked given the dire straits of the economy and the immediate cash flow that would have resulted from the sale, and certainly is evidence of the strength of environmentalism in the country.

Even if the contra war had never existed, the economic pressures evoked by the depressed economy, which resulted from the permanent state of underdevelopment imposed by imperialism, would have elicited similar environmentally destructive practices. While ABEN and other environmentally-conscious revolutionaries within Nicaragua will be ever vigilant to avert projects that tend to harm the environment and thus threaten the long term development of Nicaragua, the pressures on economic planners to write off environmental damage as an externality, a trick they learned some time ago from their imperial masters, will remain as long as the cash flow problem exists.

But the lack of cash, that is, simply being poor, is not the only legacy of imperialism. So the story goes, when Somoza visited Costa Rica, sometime in the 50's, Costa Rican president José Figueres showed him

several new programs designed to boost Costa Rica's educational system. Somoza is reported to have told Figueres that, since Nicaraguan people were nothing more than oxen, they didn't need schools. What oxen need is hard work to do, not education. This problem, while generic to Third World nations, is probably more severe in Nicaragua than in other Latin American dependencies.

The history of the brutality, and corruption of the Somoza dictatorship is well-known. But sometimes I fear that its secondary consequences are not fully appreciated. With the clear approval of many United States administrations, the Somoza family purposefully maintained Nicaragua in a state of underdevelopment that is unknown outside of Haiti in this hemisphere. Maintaining a Somoza-styled military dictatorship not only did not require an educated populace, it feared one. Two generations of people in the rest of Central America, grew up under bourgeois democracies or semi-democratic regimes, or at least experienced some form of progressive development between military dictatorships. Meanwhile, Nicaraguans were stuck in a system which was economically similar to the Spanish hacienda system, and politically similar to the Nazis. Training anyone for anything other than the work of oxen was not a national objective. Indeed, maintaining a largely illiterate population was seemingly the national plan.

And what would one expect with such a heritage? While the literacy campaign was a truly remarkable event, and most Nicaraguans can now read newspapers, the ecologists, entomologists, soils scientists, engineers, and a host of other experts that are needed for environmentally sound development and development planning simply are not there, and won't be for some time.

As an example, while I was in residence as a visiting professor at the national agricultural university (Instituto Superior de Ciencias Agropecuarias, ISCA), the president of the university was in his mid 30's and held a masters degree. The director of the school of plant protection (equivalent to a college at a university) did not yet have his bachelor's degree. Most of the professors had never even seen a real university. Imagine turning over a major U.S. university to the incoming freshpeople, telling them that they had to develop a university to solve the country's immediate problems, during the times they are not mobilized to fight in a war!

This problem exists in all institutions in Nicaragua. The legacy of the Somoza dictatorship, so loved by so many U.S. administrations as long as calm prevailed, left Nicaragua with a virtual absence of trained personnel. It is an incredibly deep problem, one that will not be resolved for a minimum of a generation, probably significantly longer given the successes of the contra war.

Indirect Consequences of Revolutionary Development

The legacy of imperialism also generates a variety of indirect consequences that, despite the generally positive goals of the revolutionary development plan, can lead to significant environmental contradictions. The issue of pesticide mismanagement is a case in point. An important, if not the most important, social base of the FSLN is the small farming sector. As a political party is supposed to do, the FSLN responds to the needs and demands of its constituency. One of those demands is for subsidies on agricultural inputs, such as seeds and pesticides. During the mid 80s the government responded to these demands (as well as other pressures) by providing excessive subsidies for pesticides of all kinds. Part of the normal economics of pesticide application is to use pesticides only when they are economically efficient. If the damage expected from a pest is less than the cost of pesticide application, obviously the pesticide should not be applied and generally is not. But how does this equation change if the price of pesticides is kept low? With very low pesticide prices, even a very small amount of expected pest damage will justify the application of the very cheap pesticide. The consequence of the government's agricultural input subsidy, mainly conditioned by demands of the small farmer sector, was the excessive use of pesticides in a variety of crops, an insult on an environment that had already seen decades of pesticide abuse associated with the expansion of cotton in the 1950's. Furthermore, the cheap input price policy had created a black market in the inputs themselves, at least in border areas. The going price for a gallon of Roundup (a popular herbicide) on the Honduran border was a pair of bluejeans. That gallon of Roundup cost the Nicaraguan government \$75. Other cases have been cited in which pesticides are purchased for the container, dumping the pesticide so as to use the bottle or can for other activities.

This particular economic dislocation could have been partially averted had the revolutionary government been able to front

enough hard currency to more efficiently subsidize the other end of the production cycle, prices paid to the small producers for their produce. Then, rather than encouraging such blatantly excessive pesticide use, the price of pesticides could have floated, or even have been maintained at high levels, promoting only limited use and a search for non-chemical means of pest control, but production costs would be covered by subsidies to the resultant produce. Such a plan could not be carried out without a source of hard currency. Pesticides could be purchased by the government on credit, but hard cash for farmers was more difficult to procure.

On the other hand, a development philosophy based on the needs of the lower classes also had important environmental benefits, albeit indirect ones. The problem of deforestation of lowland tropical rainforest is a case in point. Modern lumbering activities, apart from clear-cutting in the extensive pine forests of Honduras and Nicaragua, has been concentrated in the Atlantic lowlands, where the rainforest is characterized by many highly valuable species of trees, growing in a sea of worthless (from a lumber company's point of view) timber. Lumbering operations thus locate individual trees, or localities with relatively high concentrations of these valuable species, build an access road to them, selectively cut them and leave. The immediate damage is thus the access road and those few trees that were cut.

Subsequently, land-hungry peasants use the access road, cutting out pieces of the remaining forest, until whole areas that were crisscrossed with access roads become cleared of all forest. Frequently after this stage the peasant farmers are removed, with or without compensation, and the land is put into

extensive cattle production, supplying the fast-food hamburger markets of the U.S. and Europe, as well as growing local demand. While each piece of forest that comes down probably has its own particular history, this general pattern is nonetheless discernable.

The situation in Nicaragua is distinct from the other Central American countries. First, the nature of the contra war militates against significant lumber operations (except in some of the pine forests) and thus extensive access roads have not been built. The war, while sometimes intense along the northern border in western Nicaragua, was (and at this writing still is) much more in the style of low intensity conflict on the Atlantic coast, where the rainforests are concentrated. Small bands of counterrevolutionaries were scattered throughout the Atlantic lowlands, especially in areas that are heavily forested. Thus the whole region has not been and is not likely to be subjected to intense commercial lumbering or small peasant clearings while the war continues.

But the future probably bodes well for Nicaragua's rainforests even after the war ends. The massive agrarian reform program initiated immediately after the triumph of the revolution, and which continues to this very day, has all but eliminated the land-hungry peasant in Nicaragua. In 1978 the fraction of land owned by farms larger than 850 acres was 36%. By 1985 that fraction had dwindled to 11%. In 1978 there were no production cooperatives. By 1985, 9% of the land and 50,000 families were integrated into the cooperative sector. By 1985, over 127,000 families had received title to their own land. This has been an agrarian reform without precedent in the history of Latin America.

Costa Rica's agrarian reform program, to take a point of comparison, is entirely different, bearing the fingerprint of similar programs in El Salvador and many years ago in Vietnam. Organized by the state agency IDA (Instituto de Desarrollo Agrario), landless peasants are located on or near undeveloped areas, only occasionally on the lands of large landowners. Expropriation of large inefficient enterprises is virtually absent from the system, and land titles are given with 20 or 30 year mortgages, thus requiring the peasant farmer to engage in something more than traditional production. A traditional farmer who seeks a plot of land, if he or she gets anything at all, gets a piece of marginal undeveloped land and, probably for the first time in his or her life, a bank debt.

Interviews with small farmers in both Nicaragua and Costa Rica reflect well this basic difference in agrarian reform programs. Costa Ricans emphasize the land tenure issue, voicing concern either with their lack of land title or their inability to pay their recently acquired mortgage (many were quite surprised at their new debt). Their economic focus is on the attainment of land security. Nicaraguans are the opposite. While they have many legitimate gripes, lack of land is not one of them, and rarely does a Nicaraguan small farmer talk about needing a piece of land to call his or her own. The consequences with regard to pressure on rainforests are obvious.

Given this new model of land tenure in Nicaragua, one can predict that the current pattern of land-hungry peasants following the lumbering roads into the forest in Costa Rica will not be a problem in Nicaragua. That it currently is not could simply be an artifact of the war. But with the impressive statistics readily available, and the agrarian reform well institutionalized, the expectations for Nicaragua's rainforests look very good, better than any of the other Central American countries.

It is a unique characteristic of Nicaraguan environmentalists that such political connections are at center stage. The majority of U.S. environmentalists working in the Third World view environmental problems in a political vacuum, politics seen as a bothersome barricade to environmental protection. If land-hungry peasants are cutting rainforest down, we have to protect that forest from them. The Nicaraguan conservationist attitude is, we must eliminate the

See Nicaragua, p. 38



April 27-29, 1990 Colorado Springs will host the first United States Environmental Film Festival: the only national festival devoted exclusively to environmentally-themed film and video works. The festival will be a key national event in the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, April 22, and will foster dialogue among environmentalists, filmmakers and politicians. For more information, please contact:

The U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL FILM FESTIVAL
1026 West Colorado Avenue
Colorado Springs, CO 80904
(719) 520-1952

The Green Almanac

March

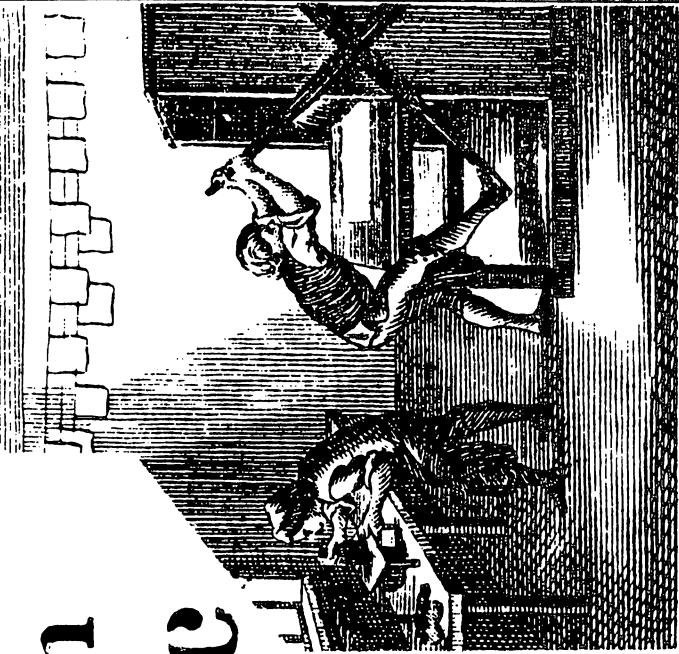
- 3 - 4 GCoC Interregional Committee, San Diego
- 5 Rosa Luxemburg born, 1871
- 8 International Women's Day
- 11 Full Moon
- 20 Spring Equinox, Sun enters Aries 4:19pm EST
- 22 Exxon Valdez oil spill, Alaska, 1989
- 29 "Decade to Disarm: Global Actions to End the Arms Race" (Actions at Nevada Test Site and in USSR and Europe—see pg 15)

April

- 2 Opening Day of Baseball Season (we hope)
- 9 Full Moon
- 15 Leonardo da Vinci born near Florence, 1452
- 18 "...the midnite ride of Paul Revere, on the 18th of April in '75..."
- 22 Earth Day (see pg 28)
- 26 Ma Rainey, American blues singer, born 1886
- 27 Arbor Day

May

- 1 Another day of work in the USA...elsewhere,...
- 1 350,000 workers strike in 11,500 sites across U.S. for 8-hour day, 1886
- 4 Meteor Shower, ca 5am EDT, from SE
- 4 Four student protesters killed by National Guard at Kent State, Ohio, 1970
- 9 Full Moon
- 9 Harvey Milk, Gay Rights activist, born 1930
- 28 Day Off



Seattle Packaging Awards

The first "Packaging Awards and Booby Prizes From An Environmental Point of View" have been released by the Washington Citizens for Recycling, joined by the Seattle Solid Waste Utility, a city agency. Representatives of both groups took part in the judging. Among their decisions:

✓ The traditional egg carton won high marks for its "fine job of protecting eggs, plus it's reusable, recyclable and even compostable."

✓ The household lightbulb won the "So Ordinary You May Have Missed Its Minimal Elegance" award. When the bulb is removed from its lightweight corrugated cardboard, the package folds flat, and is easily recyclable.

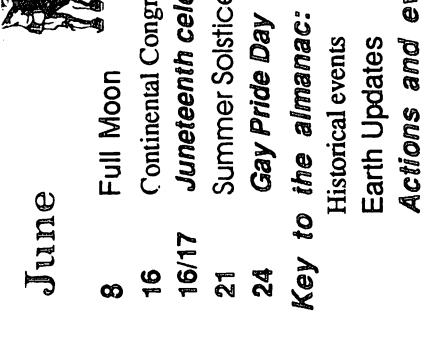
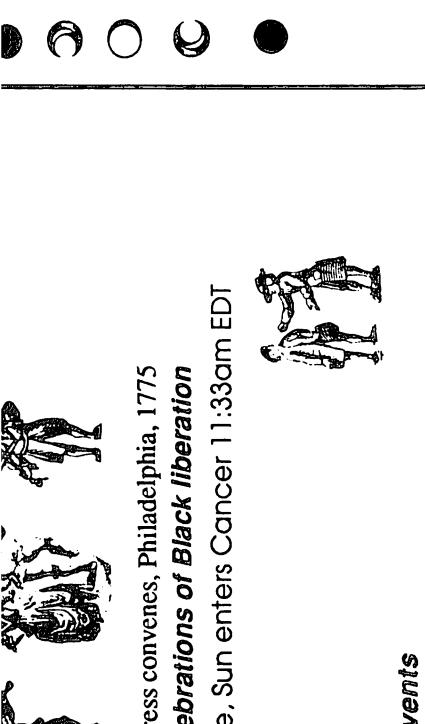
✓ Praise also went to Listerine in recyclable glass bottles, and Arm & Hammer Baking Soda for retaining the same cardboard container for decades.

✓ On the down side of the judging were toothpaste pumps, "simply too elaborate a container for its contents. You can't crush it. You can't refill it. Gotta toss it."

✓ And a new shake-and-pour pancake mix, with ten pancakes' worth of mix sold in a plastic container, is "a staple gone wrong."

June

- 9 Full Moon
 16 Continental Congress convenes, Philadelphia, 1775
 16/17 Juneteenth **celebrations of Black liberation**
 21 Summer Solstice, Sun enters Cancer 11:33am EDT
 24 **Gay Pride Day**
- Key to the almanac:**
 Historical events
 Earth Updates
Actions and events



traditional food whose package is a "delicious alternative" to the foam dish or waxed paper cup: the ice cream cone, which won the "Simply Edible" award.
 (Edited from NY Times and SF Chronicle)

The Earth Is a Satellite of the Moon

(tr. note: Acahualinca was and remains perhaps the poorest neighborhood in Managua)

Apollo 1
 Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
 Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 2
 Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
 Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
 Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 3
 Apollo 4 cost more than Apollo 3
 Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
 Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
 Apollo 1 cost quite a bit.

Apollo 4
 Apollo 5 cost a bundle, but no one minded
 because the astronauts were Protestant
 and read the Bible from the moon,
 inspiring awe, infusing joy in every Christian
 and on their return Pope Paul VI gave them his bne
 diction.

Apollo 5
 Apollo 6 cost more than all of them put together,
 including Apollo 1 which cost quite a bit.
 The great-grandparents of the people of Acahualinca
 were less hungry than their grandparents.

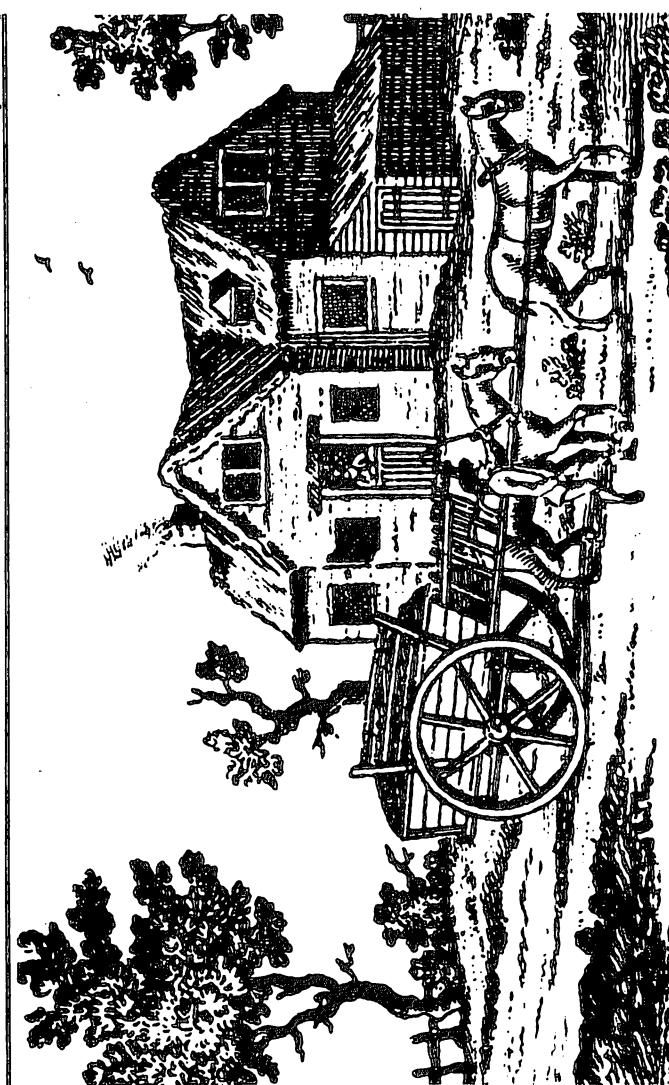
The great-grandparents died of hunger.
 The grandparents of the people of Acahualinca were
 less hungry than their parents.
 The grandparents died of hunger.

The parents of the people of Acahualinca were less
 hungry than the children of the people of that
 place.
 The parents died of hunger.

The people of Acahualinca are less hungry than the
 children of the people of that place.
 The children of the people of Acahualinca are not born
 because of hunger,
 and hunger to be born, to die of hunger.

Blessed are the poor for they shall inherit the moon.
 by Leonel Rugama

(Leonel Rugama died in battle at age 20 fighting for a
 free Nicaragua. From the book *A Dream Made of Stars*,
 edited by Clif Ross.)



"May a truly green, vital world be more than a pigment of our imagination?"

—Nancy Birks in *City Magazine*, Summer 1989 (Box 29 University Centre, Univ of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2)

Graphics from *Catchpenny Prints: Popular Engravings of the 18th Century*, courtesy of Dover Publications, Inc, New York. Thanks to Syracuse Cultural Workers Calendar for historical dates (SCW, PO Box 6367, Syracuse NY 13217).

Send ideas, dates, puzzles, etc to "Almanac", c/o Green Letter, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114. Calendar designed by George Franklin.

Nicaragua

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political category "land-hungry peasant."

The Counterattack

Thus far I have described some of the indirect effects of imperialism's legacy. More importantly, at least in the short term, imperialism engages in counterattack, attempting to reverse any gains that the new government may be able to attain in spite of its disastrous legacy. The counterattack is essential since the independence of each former colony or dependency represents a threat to the general order. It must be made obvious to others who might seek independence that such a road is fraught with difficulties, that even successes can and will be reversed.

Consequently the contra war has attacked those very programs that have been so successful, or at least were so successful, in Nicaragua. Farming cooperatives are favorite targets, not only representing productive potential, but also as a symbol of the highly successful agrarian reform program. Health clinics and schools are other targets. The Nicaraguan conservation and environmental movement also merited special consideration by the contras. In an impressive program of integrated pest management organized in the cotton-growing region, pest scouts (basically entomologically trained technicians who scouted for the existence and locations of problems with the cotton boll weevil) were targeted by the contra, and warehouses containing the pesticides necessary for critically timed surgical sprays were bombed. At the dawn of the revolution the new government spawned a plan for the preservation of natural areas that would have been the envy of conservationists anywhere in the world. The original plan would have put more than 12% of the national territory under protected status. Again, the grassroots work begun by the newly created Nicaraguan Institute of Natural Resources was directly targeted by the contras. Conservation workers in the north were assassinated and the contra infiltrated one of the largest of the newly dedicated biological preserves.

Summary

It seems to be a general rule that conservation and environmentalism in the developed world tends to take on an unfortunate

classed-based ideological flavor. The spotted owl has become a symbol for the preservation of old-growth conifer forests in the minds of the major actors in the U.S. conservation movement. But that same spotted owl is the symbol of unemployment for thousands of working-class people in Oregon and Washington. Teddy Roosevelt championed conservation partly as an ideological tool to promote the idea of nature's harmony in political life (thus undercutting those childish latins who always want to disrupt the natural order of things). This conservative legacy appears to have strongly influenced conservation activities in the Third World, most of which are dominated by participants from the developed world. Thus Costa Rica, with only islands of tropical rainforest remaining, receives the attention of thousands of conservationists every year, while Nicaragua with the largest expanse of rainforest remaining in Central America is eschewed by all but the "politically motivated" conservationists. Communist rainforests apparently do not need to be saved.

Nicaragua's environment faces a crisis. But it is not a crisis caused by overpopulation, or rampant industrial development, or some kind of uninformed peasant mentality, as many developed world environmentalists state or imply. It is a crisis of imperialism. First, the historical legacy of underdevelopment not only directly caused a variety of environmental problems, it also left structures, political, social and economic, that make solving those problems difficult. Second, rational development plans within this imposed framework can have undesirable secondary consequences. Important contradictions arise between the need for immediate economic development and the need to preserve the environment for the future, a fact certainly not unique to either Nicaragua or other developing countries. Third, the inevitable counterattack destroys or severely debilitates the advances so painstakingly achieved. Despite the legacy, despite the counterattack, Nicaragua's environmental programs compare favorably to those in nearby countries. Indeed, the Sandinista Revolution has proved itself an "environmental presidency" far more convincingly than other better publicized cases.

John Vandermeer is Professor of Ecology in the Department of Biology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48109. He has worked extensively in Central America, focusing on Nicaragua since 1980. He was

visiting professor of agroecology at the National Agricultural University in Managua in 1986-87. His most recent book is The Ecology of Intercropping (Cambridge University Press), and he is co-editor (with Peter Rosset) of Nicaragua: Unfinished Revolution (Grove Press).



Third Florida Green

This conference will focus on organizers' skills training, will be held April 6-8 at Camp Thunderbird in Apopka, northwest of Orlando. The keynote speaker will be Dee Berry of the GCoC Greens. For more information contact American Friends Service Committee, 130-19th Avenue Southeast, St. Petersburg, FL 33705, (813)822-5522.



Congresswoman Barbara Boxer of San Francisco has recently introduced legislation, The Ocean Protection Act of 1989, which bans offshore oil drilling from the entire California coast and from most U.S. shorelines. You can support this bill by writing your representatives and urging them to co-author the bill (HR 3751), or sending petitions supporting the bill to Rep. Boxer, 3301 Kerner Blvd, San Rafael, CA 94901. For more information, contact the Ocean Protection Coalition, PO Box 1385, Mendocino, CA 95460, (707)937-1721.

Vision

continued from p. 3

tive relations with each other and with nature.

Imagine a world where responsibilities were of equal importance to rights, where it was understood that enough was good, and that more than enough wasn't, where there was a deep understanding of the difference between wants and needs, a world where greed, opportunism, coercion and manipulation were all social crimes, a world where unaccountable power-over was arrested. Imagine a world where there was collective support in the overcoming of individual limitations, where mistakes weren't hidden but welcomed as opportunities to learn, where there was no reason to withhold information, where honesty was a given. Imagine a world where what is valued most is not power but nurturance, where the aim has changed from being in control to caring and being cared for, where the expression of love is commonplace. Imagine a society that reveres patience rather than efficiency. Within patience there is respect, a deep trust—a knowing that in its own time the rosebud will bloom.

Imagine a world where bureaucracy, like the dinosaur, is extinct. Imagine a world on a human scale where work has regained its dignity, where work has regained its creativity, where you are part of the decisions that make a real difference.

People feel healthier when they take pride in keeping their homes clean and beautiful. Imagine everyone taking that same pride in making their communities beautiful. Imagine the whole of humanity honoring the same sense of responsibility for maintaining the earth.

Imagine a world where trust and honesty are the oil that makes society thrive and evolve—not power and deception, but cooperation and connection. The very fact that you can imagine these things makes them real, makes them possible.

We live in the belly of the beast, but we can emerge, slay it, and heal our earth. If we can imagine these things we can create them. We can let this vision give us the strength and patience for the struggle that lies before us. If we can imagine it, it is possible—if we can imagine it, we can begin to make it so.

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Merchant

continued from p. 4

management and competitive edge.

With the domination of the marketplace over the family oriented farm, private and public life were separated. With agriculture oriented to the market, women's role in productive farm activity was steadily replaced by male control over agricultural technology. Women's primary role began to be defined as biological and social reproduction in the home. The male role of marketplace competition was mediated by the female role of domestic nurture.

Where is the space and hope for a new ecological thinking, to supplant capitalist consciousness? Merchant's book is short on concrete analyses of the forms and avenues to a sustainable agriculture and ecology. Those seeking strategies or concrete examples for a new ecology will be disappointed. What Merchant does, is to extend her analyses of indigenous, colonial and capitalist ecological world views, to the possibility of a new global ecological revolution, resulting in a sustainable system.

On the one hand, the evolution of the New England economy has seen a decline in agriculture, which has allowed the resurrection of the forests. A younger forest again covers nearly 80% of the land, giving hope that ecological destruction is reversible. Yet this forest is endangered by the acid rain of the industries of the East and Midwest. This story is replayed worldwide, as the capitalist model of agriculture dominates all models of third world development.

What worldview could provide the basis for a global Green ecological revolution? A new relationship between humanity and nature could be entailed in the following suggestions by Merchant:

"1) Everything is connected to everything else in an integrated web; 2) the whole is greater than the sum of the parts; 3) nonhuman nature is active, dynamic and responsive to human actions; 4) process, not parts is primary; and 5) people and nature are a unified whole."

"An ecological transformation in its deepest sense entails changes in ecology, production, reproduction and forms of consciousness. Ecology as a new worldview could help resolve environmental problems rooted in the industrial-mechanistic mode of representing nature. In opposition to the subject/object, mind/body and culture/nature dichotomies of mechanistic science, ecologi-

cal consciousness sees complexity and process as including both culture and nature. In the ecological model, humans are neither helpless victims nor arrogant dominators of nature, but active participants in the destiny of the webs of which they are a part."

Carolyn Merchant gives little guidance as to how this worldview will come about, and what she does say is sometimes very contradictory to the major thrust of her book. At the last moment, she grounds the possibility of a new ecological ethic in new areas of physics. After a thorough demonstration of the correlation between ecological disaster and the controlling ethic at the heart of predictive science, Merchant seeks support in physics.

These areas, such as chaos theory, seek to extend the dominating ethic of modern science to control of apparently random processes in nature and society. Her references to new areas of physics such as chaos theory re-instates the mathematical, predictive and controlling models of physics as again the ultimate legitimate model for knowledge and consciousness.

An alternative foundation for a non-mechanistic science (more suitable to Merchant's ecological science) can be found in Steven J. Gould's recent book on evolution, *It's A Good Life*. Exploring the role of chance in which species survived major mass extinctions, Gould argues for a descriptive, historical model of science.

Capable of analyzing the general thrust of evolutionary biology, this model recognizes that the role of chance in evolution makes a traditionally predictive science impossible. Moving back and forth between biological and social history, Gould's case for a historical model for science is applicable to ecology. We can form and develop strategies from a historical science, but such a science offers no guarantees of progress, or desirable, predictive outcomes.

In the end however, *Ecological Revolutions* provides the first thorough model for a Green historical understanding of the interaction of the market, science, gender and human/nature relations. Carolyn Merchant provides the understanding and historical consciousness necessary to develop strategies and concrete experiments towards a Global green ecological revolution.

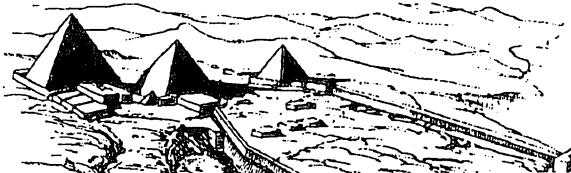
Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England, by Carolyn Merchant, Chapel Hill, 1989.



Progress

continued from p. 5

whole lot less about the properties of stone than the ancient Egyptians did, if only because we no longer build much with it; but



even if the crash research project did manage to find the right kinds of limestone and granite having the desired thermal and insulating properties (among other), it would be irrelevant, if one of the contractors' vice-presidents had a brother-in-law who owns a quarry producing a different kind of stone. That arrangement, an improperly formulated mortar, and a workforce driven at an ungodly pace to meet arbitrary schedules could all too easily result in a structure noticeably lacking in exact orientation to the North Pole (thus negating the entire significance and functioning of the building) and/or a facade that starts to crumble after only fifteen years! Do I exaggerate? Possibly, but think only of the B-1 bomber, the Abrams tank, or many other modern weapons systems the government and its corporations now produce; or think of BART [the San Francisco Bay Area's metropolitan rail system—GL], built by private industry, whose cars and computer control systems have never properly functioned since the system began to operate in the mid-1970s, despite millions of dollars spent to fix both problems since it opened.

Were there space I might give numerous examples of other older technologies (including healthcare, shipbuilding, and road construction) superior to our own, but one illustration is enough to demonstrate the illusion that we, as a culture, suffer from regarding our own superiority—a superiority that, of course, truly refers to the machines that we have put in control of our lives and society. We now recognize some of their defects in terms of the environment, but few of us doubt that they really do "deliver the goods." That being the case, how can we possibly imagine "progress" that is not dependent on the latest in machine technol-

ogy—and therefore the latest in capitalist innovation?

What we must understand is that much of our technology was created not for efficiency or the quality of its work, but simply for control: control of the world and control of the workers who labor to transform it. Since the rise of modern extractive industries some 400 years ago, control of nature, including humans, has been the cornerstone of the emerging capitalist economies of early modern Europe. That social system argued that more control allows for more profit, more production, more efficient use of resources; of this we have all been convinced, even if we question the desirability of such production or profits. We do not see that at times control runs counter to efficiency, and that in such instances, in our society, control generally wins the day. (H. Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: the degradation of work in the twentieth century*, Monthly Review, 1974.)

Consider nuclear power, for example. When the hidden, socialized costs of processing the fuel, storing its wastes for hundreds of thousands of years (!), and dealing with the incalculable expense of ruined water supplies and sickness and death from radiation "leaks" are considered, it is crystal clear that nuclear is simply economic madness. But nuclear is also control, it is centralized, and it very neatly, without the messiness of political discourse, robs people of their autonomy and power. And that is why it is still (after Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and Windscale) being pushed by powerful forces in our society and why it is, for them, identified with "progress."

It is critical for us, I believe, to grasp that what historically has been seen as (1) progress is linked, via (2) control, to (3) the "death of nature" our planet faces, and to (4) the deadening of our sensibilities to the outrages we each must endure, given this situation, day after day, and therefore to the whole of our current ecological crisis. Only as we come to terms with the logic that wove these four threads together into our common history can we look again at progress, this time in a clear light.

All the preceding, of course, does not consider whether progress should even be a goal we aspire to. The cultures that managed to live in balance with the Earth for millennia were quite innocent of such a concept. Their sense of liberation was not premised

on "labor-saving" devices, possibly because (at least in tropical climates) they flourished quite well with a minimum of work. (Sahlins, *Stone-Age Economics*, Aldine Publishing Co., 1972.) Not progress, but ideas of cycles, dominated their worldview, first of all the cycles of nature, of the sun and Earth and moon that governed all other cycles. To be sure, some of the cultures with such a worldview were hierarchical, but many were not. At any rate, it seems probable that our own cultural fetish with progress is a direct reflection of the historical program we engaged in as a society that has endangered the continuity of life on the planet. If such is the case, our assumptions need to be thoroughly examined lest we reproduce the very threat we are trying so desperately to escape.

Ladakh

continued from p. 7

sustainable way. Changing our definition of the GNP will change the ways these cultures are perceived. It will also change the way women's work is perceived. In the same way that the traditional economy is treated as invisible, we have remnants of that in our own society, in "women's work" that is not recognized in the GNP.

GL: What can people living in industrialized countries do to support Ladakh?

H: There are two ways people can help. One is to concern themselves more with the development policies of their own government. Put pressure on Congress, on the World Bank. At the moment, most of what is described as "aid" is actually going to destroy the environment and to create poverty. One safe guideline is asking whether a project is trying to directly support local smaller-scale economies, trying to diminish the reliance on imports and exports.

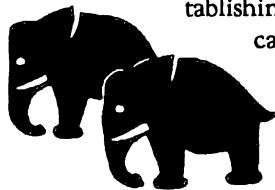
Equally important is for us to become as self-reliant as possible, to buy local, seasonal food. If you do this, you've done one of the best things you can do to get off the back of the third world. If we produce more for ourselves, we can support them in providing basic needs for themselves.



Maasai

continued from p. 9

lems we are living with are the problems of our brothers elsewhere. Our problems have the same roots. Although we live geographically apart, we understand that what happens to the Maasai in Africa happens to the indigenous people in North America, in Australia, in Europe. What is happening is striking. There is a basic link. This is why we have to organize to find ways of establishing lines of communication that will be durable and develop an indigenous people's conservation strategy.



Wolff

continued from p. 10

nist" class structure. Societies with such a class structure will interact with nature differently from societies with alternative class structures.

For example, consider a society in which some people (workers) do both necessary and surplus labor, but other people (corporate boards of directors) do neither. Consider, further, that the workers get wages and salaries permitting them to buy back a part of the goods and services they produce, namely the part equal to their necessary labor. That means that the boards of directors get the rest, the fruits of the workers surplus labor, called "profits." In such a society—recognized as "capitalist" in this Marxian theory—the boards of directors decide how much surplus labor there will be and what will be done with its fruits ("their" profits). Such a society will interact with nature in its own distinctive way.

To use still another example, suppose all workers work individually as individual farmers, craftspersons, etc. They do necessary labor—producing the equivalent to what they consume—and also surplus labor—their individual "profits." In this social arrangement, each individual producer makes his/her own decision about how much necessary and surplus labor to perform and what to do with the surplus. Such a society will interact with nature in ways different from how both communist and capitalist societies do.

One point of this kind of Marxian the-

ory is to alert activists for an ecologically balanced world that we need to think hard about how existing class structures impact on the natural environment. Another point is to make us sensitive to asking whether the kinds of interaction between people and nature that we seek may require changes in existing class structures as well as changes in attitudes, cultural values, politics, and so on. In short, this Marxian theory's contribution to ecological economics and to ecological activism is to add class consciousness to our thinking, our strategizing, and our actions.

This kind of Marxian theory is necessarily modest in what it can offer. So far it is a developed awareness of and sensitivity to class that it can contribute. The next step is for a more explicitly Marxian ecology to be fashioned, one which explores (1) precisely how and why capitalism, communism and other class structures sometimes interact disastrously with the environment, (2) which class structures offer the best chance for a nurturant balance between people and nature, and (3) what sorts of mutually respectful and socially effective alliances might be fashioned between activists concerned with class and those concerned with ecology.

The rediscovery of the rich diversities of the Marxian tradition and the new development of all sorts of Marxian theories present a hopeful opportunity for the immediate future. The Greens can find in the new Marxism resources to deepen and broaden their understanding of the societies they seek to change and the societies they seek to build. The new Marxists can find in the Greens important new dimensions of social criticism and new visions of a better world. Both Greens and Marxists can find in each other some crucial new allies.

Indeed, in New Haven, Connecticut, where I live, such an alliance was built up in the New Haven Green Party. There are a variety of ecological concerns of great importance here (a grossly polluted and commercially abused harbor, a drinking water system so polluted that the water has to be so chlorinated as to taste like swimming pool water, the deterioration of parklands, and a consistently dangerous level of air pollution, to name just some). At the same time, there are class issues. There is the long-standing and extreme exploitation of workers at the city's largest employer, Yale University, provoking repeated strikes over the past 20 years. Secondly, there is the city's provision of free public services to Yale University, which in return refuses to pay any taxes on its

vast "educational" assets in land and buildings, etc. The result is that all city residents pay higher local taxes (the highest property tax rate of all the 169 towns in Connecticut) to fund the provision of free city services to the city's richest single resident.

The New Haven Green Party combined a commitment to ecological change with a commitment to fundamental economic change articulated in class terms (e.g., the slogan "Why should New Haven, the 7th poorest city in the US, subsidize Yale, the third richest university in the US?") Starting its electoral efforts in 1985, the New Haven Green Party's combined ecological/class orientation has enabled it to receive over 10 per cent of the city-wide vote in the 1985 and 1987 mayoral elections, while obtaining as high as 45 per cent of the votes in individual city wards.

Rick Wolff was the mayoral candidate of the New Haven Green Party in 1985 (gaining 10 % of the vote) and its candidate in New Haven's 10th ward in 1987 (gaining 29 % of the vote). He teaches economics at the University of Massachusetts, is co-author with Stephen Resnick of *Knowledge and Class: A Marxian Critique of Political Economy*, and is a member of the Editorial Board of the journal, *Rethinking Marxism*.

Eco-Independencia

continued from p. 15

Environment) on the State of the Planet (probably to take place in Brazil).

The South American Greens also committed themselves to back the democratic reconstruction of Chile after the military dictatorship, and also stressed their wish to strengthen links with Greens from the Northern Hemisphere.

Among the participants we had some of the most valuable activists in the Region: Gustavo Wilches-Chaux (Columbia), Omar Ovalles (Venezuela), Clovis Brigagao and Jose Augusto Padua (Brazil), plus other leaders of the ecologist movement in South America.

The Declaration of Eco-Independence quoted a statement from Ailton Krenak, coordinator of the Brazilian Indian Nations, and set also a framework for a clear standpoint in rejection of the European 1992 Celebrations of the "Discovery of America", stressing the will to construct a New Society, based in just, free, ecological, independent, solidary and sacred principles.

Bioregional

continued from p. 11

difficulties are enormous and include lack of sophisticated marketing skills, inefficient or antiquated equipment and the lack of, or poor, credit history.

A large proportion of these people do not earn enough from this business activity to support themselves and their families in an area where housing costs have escalated abruptly. These marginally self-employed people include loggers, farmers, carpenters, artisans, housecleaners and truckers. Their inability to earn enough income limits their access to housing, health care, etc.

An example of the type of business that was helped by the Enterprise Fund is a logger whose earnings had been too low to keep up with the cost of equipment breakdowns, which threatened to shut off his income completely. By the time he sought help, his home was in foreclosure and the IRS was moving to collect back taxes. What he needed and got from the Hilltown CDC Enterprise Fund, was intensive help in managing immediate crises, and a long-term plan to put his business on more solid footing. He was loaned \$1000 for equipment repairs and the business advisor sat down with him once a month to check progress, provide advice and support and collect the loan payment. Business income increased, the house was saved and the loan repaid completely.

Other examples of businesses which could prosper with the assistance of the Enterprise Fund are:

- A two-person landscaping business with a growing customer base in North Adams which has been unable to borrow \$5000 from conventional sources for equipment because the company lacks a track record and credit history.

- A two-person cider business with strong market opportunities which it cannot exploit without \$5,000 in equity capital. Without it, they may fail entirely.

- A much-needed day-care center in Orange which an enterprising woman would be unable to start up without CDC technical assistance and financing.

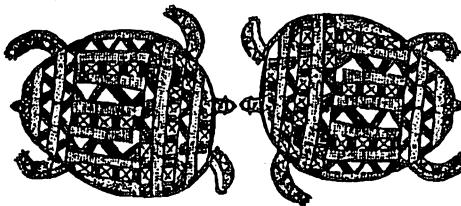
- A catering business in Northampton run by a former English as a Second Language student who has been unable to find financing for the business plan the CDC helped her prepare.

The Enterprise Fund recognizes that businesses which choose to encourage employee ownership and participation may face

special obstacles to raising outside capital. Employee-owner firms are often viewed as unorthodox, and their structure may not allow for the sale of equity other than to employees. The Fund can invest in these firms thus promoting the spirit of bioregionalism and "green" democracy.

Anyone interested in investing in or learning more about this creative and well-managed venture should contact Fund staff at the Hilltown CDC in Chesterfield, Tim Clegg or Kathryn Woo, 413-296-4536.

Joan Hastings is a free-lance writer who lives in the Hilltowns and is on the Board of Directors of the Hilltown CDC.



Autoworkers

continued from p. 13

people thought about forced overtime, he discovered that the overall feeling was: "We're not going to have a job very long, so whatever work I can get, I'm going to do it."

But Jim Vernatter, Health and Safety Representative for UAW Local 900, condemns such attitudes: "Recently I asked this guy in the plant if he would be willing to give up \$1.50 an hour to get back the second shift [of laid-off workers]. And he said no. I said, 'That's the problem. All you think about is yourself.'"

Life in today's factory is much different from the days when Henry Ford's goon squads ruled, and from the era of union solidarity. Improvements have been made in conditions at the factory—from floor mats to exercise rooms, from psychological counseling services to free health checkups—but workers are working faster and harder, and their jobs are still monotonous and difficult.

On the line there is little trust that hard work and sacrifice will continue to bring rewards or that the union will lead the way to a better future. But there is confusion and disagreement about what can replace those principles and who can provide new leader-

ship.

As long as good-paying jobs were plentiful, we could evade hard questions and continue to believe that technology would solve our problems and money would buy solutions. The challenge now is to dream an American dream that our children can build upon. For us to have hope in their future, we need to give them more than just quality educations and material security.

As twenty-year veteran auto painter Berlin Scott says, "The solutions will have to come from ordinary people getting together. We have to work it out among ourselves and stop pretending we're so ignorant."

Note: The above is excerpted, with permission, from the book End of the Line: An Oral History of Autoworkers and the American Dream, by Richard Feldman and Michael Betzold (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988). The book consists of autoworkers telling their stories and talking about their lives. Feldman has worked at Ford's Michigan Truck Plant for seventeen years, and is also a political activist; Betzold an author and journalist. Both men live in Detroit, Michigan.

Europe

continued from p. 17

We want ecological sanity, not excessive consumerism;

We want the maintenance of the social achievements of the GDR;

We want anti-fascism, not right-wing extremism.

8 Dec. 1989

Joint Declaration of the Federal Executive Committee of Die Grünen (in the FRG) and the Executive Committee of the Alternative List Berlin (actually the Greens in West Berlin, represented in the Bundestag).

Die Grünen and the AL Berlin welcome and support the popular movement for the democratic revival of the GDR and the reform movements in Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. In the GDR there is a historic chance for a perspective beyond capitalism and state socialism. The dissolution of old enemy images opens up new prospects for political changes in the FRG and West Berlin.

First of all, the FRG now has to disarm drastically. The crisis of the Warsaw Pact makes the madness of a still increasing mili-

tary budget abundantly clear. The FRG has to contribute to the dissolution of the military blocs and to the demilitarisation of Europe. NATO and the Warsaw Pact will have no place in a future Common House of Europe.

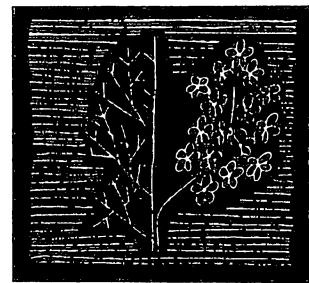
The recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state and the acceptance of its existence is one condition for the further development of the reform movement in the GDR and its attempt to go its own and self-determined way to renewal of their society. The overcoming of the Wall makes it possible for people who have been separated for 28 years to meet again. "Reunification" of states today would only be annexation of the GDR into the FRG and would be equivalent to a defeat of the democratic movement in the GDR. Not the expansion of the power of national states is on the agenda today, but policies that render state borders meaningless and enable the people to design the life of their society democratically through self-determination.

The Federal Government confirms the right to self-determination but de facto pursues a policy to transform the GDR into a branch of the FRG. Everybody who supports the autonomy of the East German reform movement has to oppose the governments' blackmail policy of the strong Deutsche Mark. The FRG must not impose its model of consumption and its economic system upon the GDR and other COMECON countries. In our mutual interest we want cooperation without blackmail. Economic aid must be unconditional. We have to begin immediately to develop and implement a large-scale program for economic and ecological cooperation with the GDR and Eastern Europe.

We call upon the public to support these demands by building a broad solidarity movement with the renovation movements in the GDR and Eastern Europe. Particularly

the existing twin towns can begin with such grassroots contacts and new town twinning should be initiated.

19 Nov. 1989



European Directory

Hungary

Green Party of Hungary
c/o Gabor Hrasko
Zrinyi 14
1051 Budapest
Tel: 111-1301
Judit Vasarhelyi
Independent Ecological Center
Miklos ter. I.
1035 Budapest
Tels: 180-3420, 180-3424, 180-3440
Telex: (22)3301

Czechoslovakia

Peter Tatar
MZ SZOPK (Slovak Union of Nature
and Landscape Conservationists)

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c/o Simona Bouzkova
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Tel work: 802908

Poland

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c/o Piotr Trela
ul. Buczka 4/10
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Green Federation
c/o Grzegorz Pesko
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periodical, largest circ.).
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Fax: 12-226306

Telex: 0322297 UJ PL

Wojtek Peczula

ZIELONE LUSTRO (Green periodical, second largest circ.)

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Tel: 551339

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Eco-glasnost

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Prof. Lyubomir Ivanov

Mathematics Faculty

1126 Sofia

Tel home: (3592) 662057

Tel work: (3592) 62561 (ext. 598)

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GME (Green Movement of Estonia)

Prof. Harald-Adam Velner

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200026 Tallinn

Estonia

Tels: 537258, 431244

Fax: 644577

Youth Ecological Center

Latvian States University

Ecological Club of Riga

Ranis bulv. 19

226098 Riga

Latvia

Green World/Peace

Zelenij Suit

bul. Kirova 5-A

252021 Kiev

Ukraine

Tel: 293-9584



tion like at Hanford, Washington's nuclear reprocessing plant?

We invite you and thousands of people all over the land to write down on a single page what your community has suffered from one or more out of town corporations (name the corporation) and send it to us at the address listed at the end of this letter. We also urge you to come to New York for the weekend of the Action on Monday, April 23, or send someone from your group.

We will put your Story along with that of all the others on a long Scroll, called the Scroll of Anger and Mourning.

We plan to read from the Scroll at a Public Forum on Ecology, Politics, and Democracy on Saturday night at The New School; to have a speak-out based on Stories from the Scroll either at City Hall or at a nearby Park on Sunday night; and to march with the Scroll to Wall Street on Monday Morning. After the event, we will publish the Scroll in magazines and in a book.

If your group does not have immediate knowledge of a corporation's practices in your general community, would you contact groups or persons in the area who do have such immediate knowledge or experience and invite them to send us a page and come to Wall Street to tell their story? Or, if they can't come, to work with them to write up the story?

Our deadline? As soon as possible! Send your story to Jim Richmond, 4144 Warwick #104, Kansas City, MO 64111. Please note that we need your story by April 1 at the very latest if we are going to be able to inscribe it on the Scroll. Have it "camera ready" since we will not be able to change it.

A last thought: would you make this into a kind of a chain letter? Send it on to others and ask them to do the same!

On Behalf of Earth Day Wall Street Action,
Cristina Nealon, Boulder Green Alliance*

Jim Richmond, Green Committees of Correspondence*

John Rensenbrink, Merrymeeting Greens*
Lorna Salzman, New York Green Party*
Brian Tokar, Vermont Greens*

(* for purposes of attribution only)

P.S. Please send your Story to Jim Richmond at the above address as soon as possible, and not later than April 1, 1990.

Regional Contacts

CHICAGO

NORTHWOODS - UPPER MIDWEST (MI, WI, MN)

WISCONSIN GREENS, Jeff Peterson, Rt. 2, Box 170 A, Luck, WI 54853.

NORTHERN PLAINS (SD, ND, MT, WY)

WILD ROCKIES (W.MT, W.WY, ID)

BOZEMANGREENS, Shannon Walden, Box 49, SUB, Bozeman, MT 59717.

PRAIRIE (IA, MO, KS, NB)

PRAIRIE GREENS, Dee Berry (816-942-3081), 5 E. Bridlespur Dr., Kansas City, MO 64114.

MISSISSIPPI - LOUISIANA

DELTA GREENS, John P. Clark, P.O. Box 55, Loyola Univ., New Orleans, LA 70118
Or Rob Wilden, 1019 Foucher St., New Orleans, LA 70115.

OZARKS (S.MO, AR)

AFI GREENS, Katherine Adam, (h.501-443-4695 or w.442-9824), 205 W. South, Fayetteville, AR 72701.

NORTH TEXAS - OKLAHOMA

UPPER TRINITY GREEN (Regional Contact). Gayle Hudgens (214-821-1978), 6301 Gaston #344, Dallas, TX 75214.

SOUTH TEXAS

REGIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE, P.O. Box 49107, Austin TX 78765.

CENTRAL ROCKIES (CO, WY, UT)

GREAT BASIN (ID, UT, NV, W.OR)

SOUTHWEST (AZ & NM)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

REGIONAL CONTACT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GREEN ASSEMBLY, Mike Feinstein (213-392-8450), PO Box 24D36, LA, CA 90024. Or (213-31GREEN), PO Box 24D36, L.A., CA 90024. Or Mindy Lorenz, (805-648-4305).

Eco-feminists take note:

The members of the SPAKA Ecofeminist Caucus have been added to the mailing list compiled at the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference at Tucson in 1989. For more info or membership send \$5 (sliding scale) to Noel Sturgeon, NW 805 Charlotte, Pullman, WA 99163.

Until the Boulder conference, the NWSA ecofeminist caucus newsletter will serve as publication forum for debate for the Greens' ecofeminist caucus as well. So please send any mail, letters, ideas to them at the above address.

SAN DIEGO

GREENS OF SAN DIEGO, c/o The Green Store, 2322 Sunset Cliffs Blvd., Ocean Beach, CA 92107.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA GREENS

c/o East Bay Green Alliance, P.O. Box 3727, Oakland, CA 94609. Or Dawn Barrett (707-874-2661 or 823-1151). Or Ross Mirkarimi (415-863-5364). Or Greg Jan (415-644-9417). Or Jack Cohn (916-265-5264).

HAWAII & U.S. PACIFIC TERRITORIES

HAWAII GREEN MOVEMENT, Chris Jones, P.O. Box 61508, Honolulu, HI 96839. (Econet: chrisjones).

CASCADIA - COLUMBIA (OR, WA)

CASCADIA GREENS ALLIANCE, Neal Conklin (206-547-5031), 3619 Linden Ave. N., Seattle, WA 98103.

ALASKA

PUERTO RICO & U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

ELECTRONIC MAIL AND INFORMATION EXCHANGE

Individuals and organizations worldwide are beginning to use computer-based communications to help bridge gaps, build new alliances and support cooperative projects. The U.S. Greens are especially active on the international computer network ECONET, which provides electronic mail, Green conferences and a Green library. For more information write, The Institute for Global Communications, 3228 Sacramento St., S.F., CA 94115-9907, or phone 1-415-923-0900.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

For a similar list of Canadian Green contacts, please write to: The Canadian Green Hub Office, 831 Commercial Dr., Vancouver, BC V5L 3W6. Phone 1-604-662-7934.

The theory, practice, and results of the ongoing SPAKA ratification process

Christa Slaton & John Rensenbrink

The first round of revisions to the Eugene text as developed from the SPAKA statements is now complete. As part of the process of program evolution, this progress report will address the degree to which the ratification plan has been followed and will present a plan for the ongoing process in the months between now and the Green Gathering in Boulder.

The Ratification Design

At the Eugene conference, each working group chose at least two people to serve as contacts/coordinators for continuing discussions of the statements developed in the group. The role of the coordinators is fivefold: (1) to receive input from Green locals and to integrate that material and/or to identify problem areas that need more discussion in order to produce a thorough text that has broad-based support; (2) to periodically share proposed revisions with all the members of their particular Eugene working group in order to continue the dialogue between the contributors to the original text; (3) to solicit comments on the text from authors of related SPAKA statements who were unable to attend that particular Eugene working group; (4) to share the evolving statement of that working group with kindred individuals or organizations for feedback in an effort to benefit from their experience and expertise, and to expand our alliance building; and (5) in consultation with the contributors to the text and those involved in the revisions, to develop action plans or operational strategies for implementing the program.

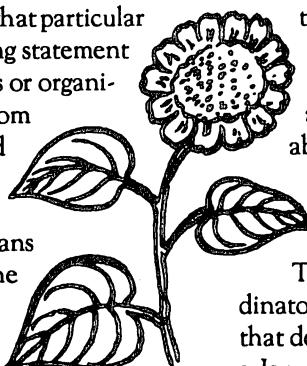
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The original deadline for submission of revisions by the coordinators of the working groups was December 31st. Only two met that deadline. So, a reminder was sent to all the coordinators with a January 23rd cut-off point, emphasizing how important it is to keep locals abreast of the ongoing discussions and revisions if we are to produce a program based on genuine grassroots democracy. At that point, and throughout the rest of January, coordinators began to respond in earnest. Still, about one third of the working groups



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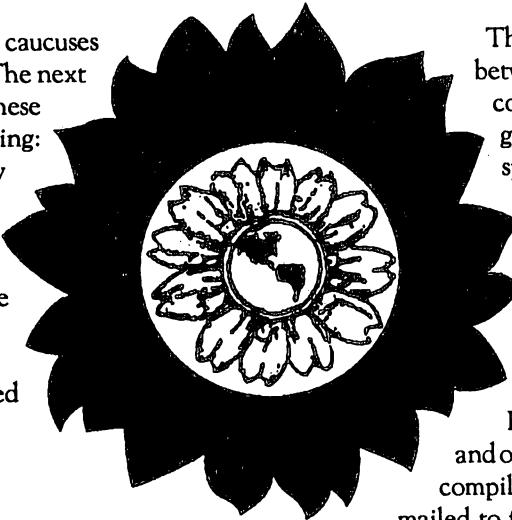
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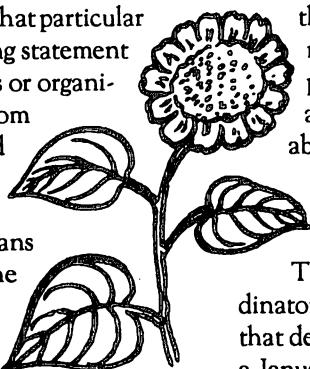
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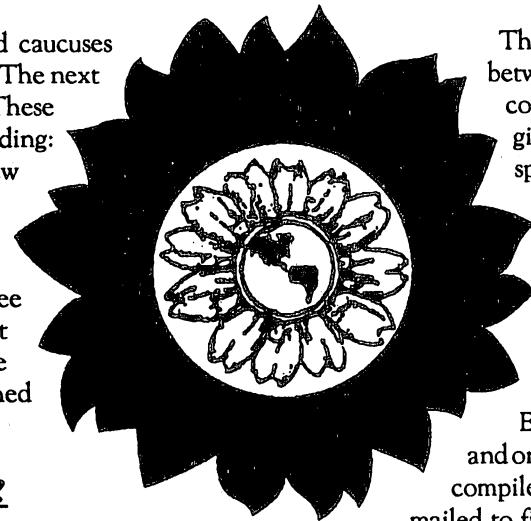
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to express their views and add new information to the text is NOW. Decisions cannot and will not be made on issues that locals have not had an opportunity to discuss before the Boulder gathering. Such would be inimical to the kind of grassroots and decentralized democracy that is at the heart of what the Greens embrace as principle and praxis.

This does not mean that the Boulder gathering will stifle new ideas or produce a rigid document carved in stone. Democracy is a dynamic and flowing process. The Boulder gathering is simply another step—albeit a major one—in developing the Green COC agenda. It will last for a few days and must have a defined set of issues to discuss. Once that is concluded, we will design another process for continuing the program development.

Thus, the time is also now for any local that intends to instruct its delegates to vote against a statement, to express their objections to the relevant coordinators so that other locals have an opportunity to consider their objections and seek ways to resolve differences before the conference. This kind of lateral local intercommunication is an essential part of the decentralized local-based democratic model we advocate and are trying to practice.

A Polished Product

There have been many advocates for more consistency, clarity, moderation in tone, and brevity in the Eugene text. Some members of the Boulder Planning Group are serving on a Style Committee to work with the working group coordinators in order to refine the Eugene text and revisions into a more integrated, yet clear and

concise, document. In addition, there are calls for a relatively brief press release that can be prepared for the media who will not read long documents. It is proposed that rather than have uninformed reporters condense materials inaccurately, Greens should themselves offer brief statements on policy areas that can be disseminated to large audiences. The Style Committee will also work on preparing a media packet or informational packet for local Green use.

It's Really Happening

As Greens committed to a decentralized grassroots democracy, we have our hands full organizing at the local and regional level. It is very difficult to participate in long, detailed, and intense discussions of a program while keeping active in local issues and regional growth. Yet Green locals all across the country are balancing their time, energy, and efforts to function effectively at all levels of the COC. The SPAKA ratification process is a model for expanding democratic participation that demonstrates decisions can be made from the bottom up and delegates can be held accountable for their actions. The SPAKA process is designed to translate the theoretical and abstract underpinnings of the Green movement into an understandable and consistent agenda that identifies crucial issues, offers sensible and practical alternatives, and develops grassroots democratic means to pursue goals. As policies and strategies are developed and agreed upon, the Green locals should be able to attract a much more diverse group of supporters, who are knowledgeable of and sympathetic to the Green agenda. Our struggle through the SPAKA ratification process will have its rewards.

SPAКА statement revisions are listed below in alphabetical order, with their contacts. Groups without revised statements are listed at the end of this SPAКА section, along with their contacts. Primary contacts are indicated by an asterisk.



Arts and Culture

Values

The arts speak the languages of the senses (through words, images, sounds, form, color, touch, and movement. In expressing these more intuitive parts of ourselves, artistic activity is fundamental to re-balancing our lives.

Artists have an important role to play in creating a more sustainable society and empowering their communities. Their images and actions can stimulate changes in consciousness and behavior. The arts are vital for challenging people to re-think their assumptions, and educating people about their past, present issues, and future visions.

The Artist and Society

We encourage an expanded concept of the artist's role in society.

This could include:

- creating in a way that fosters healthy relationships between people and their daily environments, communities, and the earth;
- creating themes that advocate compassion, nurturance, cooperation; or that unmask the often-obsured connection among various forms of violence, domination, and oppression;
- reflecting current issues and posing alternative solutions;
- serving as creative consultants on community projects.

We seek to use the arts in developing our local cultures as part of a global exchange.

Art Education

Non-competitive education in the arts is fundamental for a healthy society. We advocate supporting art in the schools by locating and developing both local governmental and alternative funding sources. We also encourage local artists and the community to contribute time, experience, and resources to these efforts.

We encourage diversity in art education including hands-on and theoretical approaches, exposure to the arts of various cultures, and experience with a variety of media, techniques, and content. We support the integration of the arts into other areas of the curriculum



to promote a holistic perspective.

Sustainability within the Art Community

Artists can facilitate the social and political transformation of our society from its destructive practices to sustainable ones. Considerations for sustainability within the art community include:

- responsible choices of non-toxic, renewable, or recyclable materials;
- the choice of funding sources not connected with social injustice or environmental destruction;
- the reformulation of the concept of innovation to mean necessary change rather than novelty for its own sake;
- decentralization within the art world to create more regional and local art centers with community participation;
- development of more cooperative systems among artists to provide housing, exhibition space, financial and moral support.

Support for Non-Mainstream Art

We support the unique visions and voices of artists underrepresented in the institutionalized art mainstream, including but not limited to women; people of color; people with disabilities; people of alternate sexual preferences and life styles; and children.

Censorship of the arts is not acceptable in any form, including withholding of government funds for political and moral content. Freedom of expression can be abused. The solution is for artists to feel valued by their communities so they will be moved to create response-able expressions. By making the arts a fundamental part of education, the public will be better able to make informed decision regarding public funding of the arts.



Education

Robin Brooks' address was not printed in the Autumn Green Letter. Locals which sent feedback to Sally Ann Michel should send another copy to Robin.



Robin Brooks, 920 Kennedy Dr., Capitola, CA 95010. EcoNet Mail: KR Brooks



Economics

"Economics is not a science, and economic policy is now too important to be left to the economists."

—Hazel Henderson

The Eugene gathering (SPAКА I) gave us all an opportunity to invent a process for collective thinking. We strove to present alternatives that weigh heavily against institutions and values that manipulate our lives. We have been talking economics—we are creating a Green economics.

Those participants in the economic working groups at Eugene were empowered to disseminate and synthesize the multitude of ideas and policy papers. However, the lack of time posed many challenges and forced compromises that ultimately left us with an incomplete program. It has been an ongoing challenge to demystify this complex subject. It is difficult translating a "pseudoscience" into common terms and providing a mechanism for practical applications.

We feel the best approach to Boulder is resynthesizing the material left over from Eugene and data submitted to us by economic proponents. The methods for managing this information is as follows:

1. The information provided in *Principles and Steps to Be Taken* is a synthesis of the statements produced by Economic Working Groups I and II. (See *Green Letter/Greener Times*, "SPAКА Blooms," Autumn 1989)
2. Of course, we have questions as to our approach (i.e. left frame, right frame, "Swiss" frame) For providing a comprehensive plan. The third component to our draft is *Issues to Be Addressed*. This allows us to funnel submissions that warrant further elaboration and/or assignment to a specialized Economic Working Group (i.e. land use, peace conversion).
3. The range of information on economic issues we're receiving is impressive. We can't sufficiently address this seamless net of causes and effects unless we have a model to keep us coordinators in check. Therefore we propose that all submissions identify their objectives by referring to the model *Principles, Steps to Be Taken*,

Eco-feminism

The statement from the Ecofeminist Caucus, issued at SPAКА 1989, remains unaltered. It is a proposal to the coordinators of the Boulder conference and as such need not be changed.

It would be helpful to receive input from other Green working groups, whether they agree with, support, find unnecessary or strongly disagree with our proposal for the Boulder conference, in order to work on concrete projects (workshops, panels, working groups, etc.).



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Action Plans, Issues to be Addressed.

4. This is a general alarm for economic working group members to take stock in this effort. We need your help. Please contact the coordinators.

5. To SPAKA authors: The original SPAKA papers designated for Eugene will be (if not already) integrated for the next phase of *Green Letter/Greener Times* publication. You may update your briefs to us but please respond to the model proposed in #3.

6. The Economic Working Group Coordinators are: Craig Flowers, Jodean Marks, Ross Mirkarimi (see contacts, below)

You are encouraged to submit material to Craig and Jodean since they have access to EcoNet. Hopefully we will all soon coordinate through EcoNet.

ECONOMICS

Principles

1. Our primary focus is on Human and Environmental needs as they interact to form a sustainable and regenerating economic system.

2. We see the need for basic fundamental changes in existing economics to ameliorate the grossly unfair misdistribution of wealth and power among the world's peoples..

3. Changes to be undertaken with an eye on long term as well as immediate results.

4. The earth and its people should not be servants of the economy, rather the economy should serve the earth and its people.

5. We are opposed to existing allocations of capital and labor to ecologically and socially destructive enterprises.

6. Wherever possible and practical, we support and endorse approaches that are regionally based and decentralized.

7. We need to create economic institutions to bring economic resources into our communities and place them under democratic control guided by Green Principals.

8. Changes in existing economic systems should promote material and social security for all species.

9. We seek to promote simpler, more self reliant life styles and business practices efficiently doing more with less.

10. New economics ought to be ecologically benign and regenerative.

11. Local, regional and international interdependence must be realized while fostering world wide economic and ecological self reliance.

12. Emerging economic systems and models can be economically and socially non-violent.

Steps to be Taken

1. Increase the public's share of the economic value of land, natural resources.

2. Encourage socially responsible investments through municipal banks and cooperatives serving social and ecological needs.

3. Move economics beyond consumerism by educating people on the true nature of the economy:

- . what and how things are produced,
- . where things come from and go to,
- . who owns and controls what,
- . what are the consequences of our economic activities,
- . how to consume less.

4. Promote worker and community ownership and control of

business through employee stock ownership plans, etc.

5. Support ecologically and socially sound economic enterprises financed by community controlled financial mechanisms like local credit unions and L.E.T.S. plans.

6. Boycott socially and ecologically destructive businesses and products.

7. Realize that a strictly community and regional approach is insufficient to change an increasingly internationalized economy, and that changes in national economic policies must include major revisions of tariff, trade and foreign aid agreements.

8. Form consumer, worker and producer cooperatives.

9. Encourage experimentation with alternative types of taxation and lack of taxation to promote desired types of new businesses.

10. Increase the establishment of community development loan funds to promote housing and business opportunities for low income people.

11. Form community land trusts to broaden access to land and reduce land speculation.

12. Develop Green Criteria for, and implement, social/ecological audits on businesses and institutions, both public and private.

13. Encourage and reward ecologically sound personal lifestyles.

14. Incorporate external costs to the environment in prices charged for goods and services by taxing goods whose bi-products pollute.

15. Work with other groups to bring organized pressure to change corporate behavior and establish more disclosure and accountability for corporate social and ecological impacts.

Issues to be Addressed

Twin Cities Greens

1. What size of businesses would Greens like to see start being run cooperatively?

2. How can we encourage entrepreneurship?

3. Set long, medium and short range economic goals and strategies.

4. What about full employment?

5. How do we balance public/private, local/regional/international concerns?

6. Ecological health concerns should always be given priority in determining

7. How can we increase education and personal value changes so that they will play a more major roll in changing current economic systems?

8. Be careful of rhetoric, be practical, consider our audience.

9. Clarify goals and means to goals where possible.

Economics, Post-Patriarchal Values

Greener Times, Autumn 1989

1. Favor diversity of child care options.

2. Paid maternity/paternity leaves.

3. More options for part time work and job sharing.

4. Paid sick leave to care for family members.

5. Elimination of sexual harassment in the work place.

6. Development of, and publicity about, procedures to handle complaints of sexual harassment.

Jeff Smith

1. Clarify readership. Who is this written for right now?
2. Recommendation for use of the term, "Free Market".



3. Stronger statements about waste and efficiency.
4. Private land ownership is a major issue.
5. Profit is not a negative term.
6. "Natural" resources. How can they be named, owned, shared?
7. More income for non-owners.
8. Federal assistance to bio-regions is not needed and creates dependency.
9. Tax abolition as a goal.
10. Use deed fees in each community for social services and give out a citizens dividend.
11. End limited corporate liability and selective enforcement.
12. Prevent/restrict money leaving localities.
13. Remove subsidies from eco-cidal enterprises - farms, chemical companies, etc.
14. Address both free agents and the self-employed.
15. Don't tax personal income, tax land value instead.
16. Don't get in the way of supply and demand and entrepreneurship.
17. Don't pay for social services, (E.P.A., D.O.E., N.R.C., etc.), from general fund rather from user fees. If government cleans up, industry still pays.
18. Remove subsidies from users of virgin materials and add disposal costs to the price of throw-aways.
19. Reform economies to raise the standard of living of poor families and increase the economic power of women.

Cascadia Green Alliance

1. Include ecological and financial costs of the transport of goods in their price.

Peace Conversion

Charlene Spretnak, Ross Mirkarimi, Michael Closson, Mitchell Chanellis, The Rocky Mountain Greens

1. Reverse our fixation upon military-technological solutions to human problems that reflect a "prenuclear mentality."

2. Does United States "National Security" require \$1.84 trillion (calculated between 1981-1989) expenditure on military activities?

3. As a result of the figure in #2 above, almost all nonmilitary federal programs such as food stamps, Medicaid, energy conservation, public housing, affirmative action, community development grants have been severely cut. Due to these greatly altered spending patterns, 71% of federal research funding now goes to military activities.

4. Real National Security means not only adequate military defense but also a healthy economy, a sustainable natural environment, and a population that enjoys a high quality of life. True national security requires Global Security.

5. Citizens of all "developed" countries will not be truly secure until the huge global disparities on wealth are eliminated. We must move beyond the narrow bilateral view of global security and direct our attention and energies toward eliminating poverty with special emphasis on the Third World.

6. Massive global environmental deterioration threatens a fate as horrific as nuclear holocaust. We call for the elimination of the nuclear weapons industry and ultimately the nuclear fuel cycle. We need to reprioritize our relationship with Earth.

7. How do we achieve economic conversion? Make solutions familiar to people. Identify positive visions of a peaceful and sustainable world as well as believable scenarios for the transition

towards it.

8. If the Federal Government offered the same kind of financial inducements (i.e. loans, tax breaks, and contracts) to converted companies as it does to defense-oriented companies, conversion would flourish.

9. A Green perspective would link criteria to implement #8. (i.e production would cause minimal damage to the environment, distribution would be limited, largely to the macroregion and adjacent regions to avoid the demands of long-distance transportation and fuel.)

10. Auxiliary conversion programs would allow weapons makers who wished to leave their old industry and develop non-military enterprises.

11. Create business programs that allow employees in the defense industry to convert to a non-military industry. Seed monies would be subjected to the scrutiny based on Green economic criteria.

12. In the short term introduce the right of individuals to stipulate whether the "defense portion" of their taxes should be used for military expenditure or for the financing for peace initiatives.

13. Significantly reduce defense spending to the minimum necessary for effective territorial and social defense.

To Be Continued



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Energy

Our global ecological crisis is a direct result of an energy-use lifestyle based upon the consumption of non-renewable fossil fuels and nuclear power.

The form of society through which the common individual must consume this energy is not simply one of personal choice. Rather, it is substantially dictated from above by governmental and corporate interests that profit from it.

If we do not alter our lifestyles soon and drastically, the ecological crisis may be exacerbated past a point where we can resolve it.

This urgency is not communicated to us. Indeed, it is often hidden from us by the powers that be, because a system that would satisfy the energy needs of the world's citizenry while ensuring ecological health and balance, would deprive the powers that be of their control and profit.

Such a system would ultimately render individuals and communities energy self-sufficient. It would emphasize conservation and energy-efficiency. It would involve renewable fuels whose use would be more in harmony with the ecological interdependence upon our planet. Ultimately the nature of civilization itself would undergo



transformation, with community, bioregional, and essentially human scale considerations helping to determine how we live.

To begin on such a path does not require new technology. It does require the freedom to choose to begin. Our long-term vision is clear, but what is the first step? How can those who use the energy today gain control so we can begin to implement change?

General Strategy

Design environments to be as energy-efficient as possible. Simultaneously, plan to fulfill their remaining energy needs with solar and other renewable fuels.

Energy-efficiency means first determining what our needs truly are (a shift away from a planned obsolescence, disposable society) and then meeting those needs with greater efficiency.

Saving energy through increased efficiency ('mining energy from waste') is almost always cheaper than producing new energy. This is the thinking behind 'least-cost planning' strategy. But there are instances where once a high-level of efficiency is achieved, the least expensive option will not necessarily be the most ecological. For a long time, overt and structural subsidies of the oil, coal, and natural gas industries have been made at the expense of the development of solar, wind, biomass, and other alternative sources. This has left those sources relatively uncompetitive in comparison.

To correct this, at least two strategies are potentially useful. The first is to "level the playing field" by eliminating subsidies and tax benefits to energy corporations and utilities, as well as to the timber, mining, grazing, farming, and airline industries.

The second is a "true cost pricing" policy, where the consumer of a product or service pays the real environmental cost. These costs would include the ecological damage caused during the procurement of raw materials (oil spills, strip mining); the problems created during the performance of a service or use of a product (auto pollution); the cost of disposing, recycling, or otherwise neutralizing a product or service's residue (landfills, toxic wastes); and the mental and physical deterioration that comes from living in the world of stress and pollution that these practices create.

By incorporating the environmental consequences of economic practices, true cost pricing would enable "life-cycle" cost analysis to be applied to all energy practices. "Seventh generation" thinking will then become reality as the economy of ecology is allowed to flourish unrestrained.

Efficiency, Conservation, and Transportation

Our automobile and truck dependence was largely decided for us by gas, automobile, and rubber interests who profit by it, not by private citizens deciding democratically what would be in their best interest. The accompanying land sprawl also involved large real estate holders who benefited from spiraling land costs. The result is that our transportation and land use infrastructure is incredibly inefficient in both technology and scale.

A locally based, bioregionally conceived, and human-scaled society would be the most viable in serving our energy needs and insuring the health of the planet. It would involve mixed-use land use patterns that reduce our need to travel by addressing our necessities closer to home. It would involve renewable-fueled private and public transit, as well as foot, bicycle, skate, and skateboarding power. How do we get there? Gas tax: True cost pricing suggests that those who use a product pay its systemic cost. Up until now, the total

cost of our automobile infrastructure has not been paid by the automobile user through taxes at the pump. Rather, it's been paid by all of us through general funds.

The costs of our system include tax losses for land that could be used otherwise (streets, highways); tax subsidies for road maintenance, police service, traffic court bureaucracy, street lighting, signs, and signals; tax subsidies to sprawl-induced suburban water, power, and social services; and tax subsidies in banking practices that provide investment opportunities to sprawl developers while withholding funds from ecological, non-auto oriented redevelopment in existing centers. Beyond these are the health consequences of air pollution—emphysema, lung cancer, and decreased immunity—and the inflation of the health care and insurance systems they bring about.

To redress this, to make the automobile reflect its cost, and to concurrently encourage the emergence of public transit and human scale land use, a gas tax increase would appear to be an immediate first step. But we cannot risk that such a tax be regressive, i.e. that it will be a burden upon those who must use their cars but who can least afford increased transportation costs.

Therefore, if we raise the tax, it need be done in a graduated yet significant manner over several years, that would at the same time direct these additional funds into public transit development. Thus, when the price of gas goes up, transit options increase as well. Accompanying this might also be rebates and/or public transit discounts to low income drivers.

CAFE standards: While a move towards public transportation will decrease our energy usage, it will not address the inefficiency of our current automobile fleet. In this inefficiency, we again find corporate complicity. Prototypes for energy-efficient automobiles getting between 70-130 mpg already exist today, but vehicles like these do not find their way onto the marketplace.

We favor legislation that raises the CAFE standards (average MPG requirements) and thus requires those who profit by our habits be responsible in the manner they do so. If we set the CAFE standard at 60 mpg for cars and 45 mpg for light trucks by 2010, we would save over 22 billion barrels of oil by 2020. Together with greater efficiency in our homes and industry, this practice could eliminate our dependence upon foreign oil, help balance our budget, and significantly reduce the exacerbation of the Greenhouse effect.

Currently there is no CAFE standard for heavy trucks; indeed the industry has escaped substantive regulation. We recommend establishing standards for this industry (see below).

Once a high level of mpg performance is set, we favor substantial gas guzzler tax increases when purchasing autos that get less mpg and gas sipper rebates for those that get more. Since there is a direct environmental and societal cost to transportation inefficiency, those who waste need to pay more of its cost.

Alternative fuels: Just as electricity is not the most efficient way to heat a home, fossil fuels and other combustibles are not necessarily appropriate for all transportation. Already, solar battery-powered vehicles have 30-35 mph capacity for up to 60 miles per day. Many in-city deliveries can be met in this manner. Solar and wind generated electric urban light rail need not be far behind. Ultimately, human scale land use strategies can make these forms sufficient for most needs.

For the present, however, we need alternatives to oil. Neverthe-



less, we firmly oppose the Bush administration's singular focus upon natural-gas generated methanol. As a fossil fuel, burning natural gas will increase atmospheric CO₂ and the Greenhouse Effect. It will delay our transition to sustainability, because natural gas supply is finite. It will also keep control of their own destiny out of reach of those from whose Earth comes that very natural gas.

We favor a shift to renewable fuels that are decentrally produced, controlled, and distributed. Natural gas is at best a very short-term transition fuel until renewable sources are developed. Alternatives usually mentioned are wood-based methanol, corn or sugarcane-based ethanol, hydrogen, and conventionally generated electricity.

Methanol and ethanol are both forms of biomass, i.e. something that grows by photosynthesis that can be converted into fuel. Relying upon biomass for fuel means we will not introduce new CO₂ into the environment, only recycle it through vegetation.

There is concern, however, that a biomass-based transportation system would devastate the land through large scale deforestation and/or a widespread expansion of fuel crop planting with its resultant water and soil depletion.

These estimates, however, are based upon current energy inefficiency. Raising our fleet efficiency can mean that rather than growing special energy crops, we could fuel our transportation needs upon farm and forestry wastes we already have and don't know what to do with.

Beginning with major logging, corn, and wheat crop wastes, adding in urban tree trimmings and fallen branches, adding in the incredible amount of cellulose that can be recycled from waste paper, and ultimately including everything from almond shells, peachpits, coffee grounds, and rice and sunflower hulls, to dairy whey, citrus pulp, and apple pomace, our nation could eliminate the need to burn fossil fuels for transportation and at the same time stop destroying the landscape by dumping these useful resources into landfills and waterways, and sending them into the air and our lungs through incineration.

Realistically, in the short run, in addition to bioregionally available biomass, we will probably focus upon a few energy crops. Among them, evidence suggests the most productive would be the hemp plant. Henry Ford lobbied hard for a domestic, decentralized alcohol motor fuel system using hemp as the feedstock. He was 'out-lobbied' by petro-chemical interests, however.

Hemp is fast-growing (10 tons per acre in approximately 4 months) and drought-resistant. Its per acre output of methanol is about 10 times that of corn and it can be grown on marginal land not suited to corn's rich soil requirements. Its hardiness can also make it more democratic, because it can be produced all over.

Other Appropriate Transit: Rail, Trucks and Airlines: The trucking industry doesn't pay for the interstate highway system. The airlines don't have to build terminals but only pay rent. But the rail industry must pay taxes on property and "rolling stock."

We recommend higher taxes on diesel fuel and / or on heavy trucks themselves. We recommend establishing CAFE standards for the industry. For airlines, we would eliminate subsidization and thus make intercity rail extremely competitive.

The rail industry itself must be required to protect potential urban and interurban rights-of-way.

Conservation and Eating Lower on the Food Chain

The American meat-based diet is extremely energy intensive and

inefficient given the food value it produces. Every pound of feedlot beef requires the input as feedstock of 16 lbs. of grain and soybeans. Alternatively, the grain and soybeans fed to American livestock could otherwise feed 1,300,000 people. The energy involved in producing this waste is immense. It also makes energy available for other uses more scarce and expensive.

It's not necessary to consume meat on the level we do in order to survive. Indeed the connections between ill health and current levels of flesh consumption in the industrialized countries indicates that we would be better off living lower on the food chain. Such a transition would substantially decrease our energy needs, conserve resources, and help us feed ourselves in an ecologically sustainable manner.

Sustainable Agriculture

A local, sustainable agriculture based upon small scale organic practices would greatly reduce fossil fuel use. It would eliminate petroleum-based pesticides, fertilizers, and other chemicals. By bringing food production closer to its consumption, it would also eliminate the vast energy costs of transportation and storage. As a destination point, The permaculture concept of an "edible landscape" fits here nicely.

Note from the co-coordinators: much excellent material was received. Received but not yet incorporated was material on cogeneration, parking subsidization, energy efficient lighting and appliances

We still need work on hydropower and the consequences of river damming wind power liquid hydrogen auto fuel timetable for closure of all nuclear reactors energy savings from recycling emerging solar technology energy and the military is there environmentally benign home insulation home building codes

in addition, there needs to be discussion of the Greenhouse section—there's been much skepticism expressed about remineralization as a primary strategy. The working group feels there need be substantial revision of this section. We invite new participation.

An important point to consider is setting national and international CO₂ reduction goals and a plan to get there. Worldwatch Institute Paper #91 suggests that a 50-80% reduction is needed to stabilize atmospheric CO₂. To reach this goal by mid-century we'd need a reduction of 10% by the year 2000. Since developing countries will increase their production of emissions, countries such as the United States and the Soviet Union would be required to reduce theirs by 35%.

Besides reducing fossil fuel use, we must encourage reforestation, halt extensive deforestation, and encourage sustainable forestry practices, ban CFC's and design substitutes, and slow population growth. We'd like more input!

Finally, do we want a long (like present) and a short (abridged main points) version of the entire SPAKA? Remember, sections not included in this rewrite will be included next time, so remember to keep sending in submissions for these sections.



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Food & Agriculture

Ever since Europeans began taking control of the continent away from native agriculturalists over three hundred and fifty years ago, the record of agriculture shows as many unacknowledged failures as acknowledged successes. Agricultural land now exhibits the effects of having been unremittingly looted, mined, poisoned, and ecologically devastated. An increasingly vulnerable food production and distribution system has become characterized by dependency-producing centralization, unjust distribution, and food items of questionable nutritional value. Agriculture and the entire food system must be transformed so that they truly meet basic human needs and that they generate the means which are regenerative, active forces in healing the Earth.

Ecologically-based sustainable agriculture. The Green Program calls for an ecologically-based sustainable agricultural system that moves as rapidly as possible towards regional/bioregional self-reliance. Agriculture is to work within ecological cycles to preserve the health of both the human population and the land; whatever gets taken from the land ultimately has to be put back into it in order to maintain its productivity. Natural farming methods need to be advanced and factory farm methods halted. Greens call for the phasing out of all uses of synthetic chemicals and artificial fertilizers, and for the halt of all uses of toxic pesticides (including herbicides).

Resource conservation. The Green Program calls for the promotion of soil conservation and regeneration as one of our nation's top priorities. Greens call for the elimination of the water depletion tax allowance to enable the conservation of water resources. Export log sales need to be banned. We need to initiate a nationwide conservation program of paper products, including restrictions on consumer packaging and advertisement. We need to fund research to develop alternatives to fossil-fuel-based fertilizers—alternatives that will regenerate the soil and reduce water pollution. Since fossil fuels are implicated in global warming, their use should be curtailed in the whole fossil-fuel-based, mechanized agricultural system, with possible implications for greater utilization of animal/human labor.

Agrarian reform policies. Greens call for policies that provide economic incentives to agricultural producers to the extent they are thus motivated to enhance the long-term health of the soil. We need to change tax and fiscal policies that presently place small and family farms in a disadvantaged position compared to that of large corporate farms. Technological innovations which help large farmers disproportionately, such as bovine growth hormone for dairy cattle, should also be restricted. We oppose patenting of all life forms, whether developed by gene-splicing techniques, selective breeding, or other methods. Greens promote policies that limit the amount of agricultural land which can be owned or controlled by any given person, corporation, or organization, ideally resulting in land availability for present agricultural workers. Such workers meanwhile have the right to fair wages and decent working conditions—especially protection from the hazards of working with farm chemicals. We promote policies that advance community and

family organic gardens as a top Green priority. We call for acceleration of the process of setting "organic certification standards." Such a process, equally accountable to consumers and distributors, will assist growers in their marketing endeavors.

Resettlement/Redesign of Rural Communities. Greens recognize an imbalance in urban/rural population ratios. Urban centers are crowded and seriously disrupt local ecosystems, while some rural areas are in need of more people to live on and tend the land. Greens advocate the following policies and incentives for the voluntary resettlement from densely populated areas to smaller communities in rural areas, through programs which incorporate the following: a) Helping people learn to live in harmony with their ecosystems, b) Ecological methods of food production for household use, c) Non-exploitative land tenure practices which insure social justice and preserve natural or wilderness areas, d) communities planned for diverse work opportunities, 3) development of renewable energy sources.

Regionalization/localization of the food system. Greens recognize that our food system is characterized by centralization and heavy dependence upon oil, thereby making our food system highly vulnerable. Greens advocate regionalizing our food system to the extent that regions/bioregions become to a considerable degree self-reliant in food production. We advance the following policies: a) as a long-term goal, phase out the import of agricultural products which can be produced in this country; concomitantly enable exporting countries to increase their self-sufficiency, b) initiate steps to end ownership and/or control of agricultural lands, as well as production, distribution, or marketing operations by corporations based—or with substantial holdings located outside the state or region where the production takes place, c) initiate steps to form food producer associations and cooperatives within regions, and to form economic development organizations that advance the manufacture of value-added products within regions.

Green lifestyle. Greens recognize that western world societies are addicted to consumption patterns of food, energy and material things that are beyond the carrying capacity of the Earth and are grossly unjust to the other peoples of the world. Greens promote lifestyle changes that counter this addiction. We need to change our diets and patterns of food purchases to reflect the approach of self-reliance both in our own country and in other lands. We must promote attitudes that will not sanction the exploitation of the Earth nor of peoples throughout the world.

Education. Greens advocate education as means to promote food policies and as means to empower people and effect social change. We promote means to effect change in our eating habits—i.e., eating lower on the food chain, cutting back on exotic foods, giving preference to regionally-grown organic foods meeting adequate nutritional standards, and confronting the health, ethical, and economic factors of meat and dairy-based diets (e.g., begin phasing out the use of grains as animal feed, so that in the long term all animals raised for food be raised on grass, tree fodder, kitchen waste, and other green matter). We advocate policies that would move land grant universities to be more fully engaged in research in ecologically-based sustainable and organic agriculture. Greens advocate comprehensive public educational means that would advance an organic, regional, and more self-reliant food system.

Global responsibility. Greens recognize that our society has a



responsibility to other countries, especially third world and developing countries that have been exploited by transnational agribusiness corporations, in making the transition to self reliance in food and other basic necessities. Greens call for the ban of exports of chemical biocides except for situational emergency use, or limited use under the "least is best" IPM strategies. We advocate an end to all loan programs to promote "Green Revolution" style, capital-intensive, high-tech/highly mechanized, chemical agriculture. We call for a ban on agricultural products imported by any company or government which have a detrimental effect on ecosystems or exploit indigenous or other workers in their production and distribution. Greens advocate the elimination of the use of food export as an economic or political weapon. We call for the repeal of the Farm Export Act. We seek international agreements to stabilize commodity prices based on ecologically-based, sustainable yields, ensuring that Third World and developing countries are provided the opportunity to participate in trade. Greens call for the restructuring of the World Bank and other financial institutions to serve ecological development and subsistence food needs of the Third World instead of cash crops. Greens support the policy of providing and transporting foods in emergency situations to starving peoples wherever they are located.

Life form considerations:

Biotechnology. We realize that agriculture has been engaged in manipulating the genetic pool of plants and animals through selective breeding for thousands of years. However, excessive exploitation of other living things—including the land—for production and profit beyond reasonable needs and without respect for the inherent ecological rights of those eco-systemic entities to maintain their own existence for their own sake within the larger web of life has resulted both in the destruction and violation of land and other species all over the Earth, as well as the eroding of the human spirit, values, and morality—as we have increasingly countenanced and rationalized such actions since the rise of agriculture.

In short, we must stop seeing other life forms as commodities, and re-evaluate our whole attitude towards non-human life and the non-human dimensions of the Earth's ecological reality. This is not only for moral and ethical reasons, but for our survival. "Commodification" of all non-human existence is destroying both the Earth's ecological integrity, and the human spirit.

Therefore, we must re-evaluate our entire rationale for "selective breeding," even as we continue it, understanding that "selective breeding" does not, in the context of maintaining ecological integrity and respect, irretrievably, suddenly, or radically alter the genetic line of a species, or compromise its ability to breed true in successive generations, or come about as a result of the artificial introduction of genetic material from another species.

At the same time, we oppose the continuation of both hybridization and gene-splicing or recombinant DNA as dangerous and arrogant intervention in life, which attempts to force nature to give more than it can give within the larger balances of life, under the destructive drive for excessive profit and production. We know full well that every short-term gain from hybridization and other radical interventions at the genetic level has had commensurate and even greater negative effects and losses at other levels—some of these effects only becoming known after many years. (Documentation for this statement is abundantly available.)

[Summary note: The intent of this section is to 1) make a clear distinction between "selective breeding" and hybridization [on the one hand] and gene-splicing or recombinant DNA [on the other], and 2) clearly call for the end of hybridization and gene-splicing/recombinant DNA.]

[Further explication of the role of animals in human diet has not achieved sufficient committee consensus to warrant inclusion in the text to be considered at Boulder.]



*Katherine Adam 205 W. South Fayetteville, AR 72701 501-442-9824. (Until March 31, 1990.)

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Forests & Forestry

Input has been received raising concerns about providing displaced forestry workers with new jobs and new skills. The working group is working on a statement to address the human needs issues of the forestry workers. They're also discussing the proposal of identifying hemp as an alternative for wood pulp.



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Green Spirituality

The Earth is in crisis. The air is toxic and the waters are poisoned. Many thousands of the world's children are dying needlessly every day. The integrity of the land has been violated. We are obliterating forests and driving other species to extinction. Everything is out of balance—and we are left in rage and despair.

As human beings, we are struggling for meaning and purpose in cultures which reduce Earth and her creatures to markets and commodities to be bought and sold, managed and controlled. Denial of innate yearnings to be a part of the web of life, rather than apart from it, has left a vast emotional, spiritual void in human beings—a profound alienation. Failure to address these spiritual needs has resulted in a vacuum filled by consumerism, ideology, oppression, and addictions.

Green spirituality is an attempt to restore balance and recognize



that our planet and all of life are unique aspects of an integrated whole. It is a loving attitude, a state of being, a way of celebrating and being in relationship with the Earth. It includes respecting the unique spiritual perspectives of all other beings.

Green spirituality addresses all aspects of our being: the ideas and strategies that come from our heads, the feelings in our hearts, the instincts from our bodies, and the actions of our hands and feet. They are all equally important.

Green spirituality is an evolving and reciprocal process of healing, that brings us back to our center, back into balance with ourselves and our community. The role of spirituality in Green process brings us closer to active participation in our world, rather than driving us further away. It is a call to resist those actions and institutions that dehumanize and desecrate the Earth, and to support those which are truth-seeking and life-affirming. It is an appeal to consider the seventh generation yet unborn in everything that we do.



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Health

Introduction

The World Health Organization defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." Ivan Illich provides an even broader definition, explaining that "healthy people are those who live in healthy houses on a healthy diet; in an environment equally fit for birth, growth, work, healing, and dying; sustained by a culture which enhances the conscious acceptance of limits to population, of aging, of incomplete recovery and ever imminent death." These definitions guide our policy statements.

The state of human health is a reflection of the health of Gaia, our mother the Earth. The regeneration of human health depends upon the health of the place where we live, the way we treat one another, the realization of our personal power, and related practices affecting ourselves and our communities. Access to basic health care should be a right, not a privilege, for all people. Recognizing that health care alone does not create health, we also call for clean water, fresh air, nutritious food, adequate shelter, and appropriate education as basic rights.

Beset with crisis upon crisis, the health care system in the United States is ripe for change. Realistic proposals are more likely to gain acceptance now than at any other time in this century. Different interest groups are likely to support different parts of this statement. Our challenge is to help all the interest groups recognize the common ground that underlies our proposals, and to acknowledge the power of our unified voices and actions during this time of transition.

The values underlying the concept of ecological health are acceptance, cooperation, respect, and mutuality, not the values of power and domination over the environment, self, and others. These values open the door to successful interdependence and self-determination. In this view, health and healing are no longer the specialized concerns of professionals and institutions, but primarily the responsibility of the community and each individual in it.

Policy Proposals

1. Organization and ownership

• We prefer a decentralized model for health care services delivery, assuring local accountability and community participation.

• We encourage and support community/public ownership of health care facilities and agencies.

2. Financing

• We support recommendations for a national health care program when consistent with other proposals in this platform. Such a program should be funded by general tax revenues coming from a combination of personal and corporate income taxes and from taxes imposed on unhealthy practices such as cigarette smoking (personal) and polluting water supplies (corporate).

• We call for removal of financial barriers preventing people from obtaining basic health care. Co-payments and deductibles, if used at all, should be based on ability to pay.

• We recognize that health care costs are rising at a rate higher than that of general inflation, and agree that the national health care program must include restrictions to contain the cost of care. It is probably most appropriate that these restrictions be adopted at the state level, within Federal guidelines.

• We expect that cost savings will be realized by reducing unnecessary use of high technology interventions, by emphasizing prevention over treatment whenever possible, by returning responsibility for care back to individuals and the community, by eliminating duplicative facilities and services, and by limiting malpractice awards.

• Health care consumers and providers should have a say in state-level decisions about the allocation of health care resources.

3. Health Care Personnel

• We support the implementation of clinical training programs that emphasize a more collaborative approach to healing. Collaboration should include other practitioners as well as the person seeking care.

• We encourage the development of career tracks in health care that enable workers with interest and ability to advance beyond the occupations through which they entered the system and into positions of greater responsibility. In fact, we suggest that physicians be required to work for a period of time in an entry-level position in the health care system before beginning advanced clinical training. This might help to democratize the work environment.

• We call for equitable pay and fringe benefits for those health care workers who provide most of the hands-on care.

• We favor worker and client participation in the governance of health care facilities. This participation should be based on interest and commitment rather than on social or educational status.

• We propose the development of services that would enable laypeople to obtain free information about health-related issues. Such services could be run by trained personnel, and might be located in libraries or community centers to assure accessibility.



- We support the establishment of incentives encouraging more physicians to obtain general, primary care training as opposed to training in specialties.

- We call for programs aimed at recruiting members of under-represented ethnic groups into medical/health professions.

- We encourage practitioners to work in communities where their skills are needed.

- We call for the implementation of training experiences enabling all health care workers to increase their cultural sensitivity. This includes the training of health care workers fluent in languages other than English.

4. Assuring Access to Care

- We recognize that limited ability to pay is not the only barrier many people experience in seeking needed health care.

- We thus call for the development of a decentralized network of basic health care services, with particular attention paid to the needs of inner-city neighborhoods, rural and frontier areas. This network might include use of mobile vans and satellite offices in remote locations. It may also include siting part-time offices in high-traffic areas, such as schools, worksites, and shopping areas.

- We ask employers to provide workers with reasonable amounts of leave time to enable them to obtain needed health care for themselves and their dependent family members.

- We support the integration of traditional healing practices into community health programs, particularly those that serve significant ethnic populations.

- In order to assure that community-based health care practices are addressing the health care needs of the people they serve, we encourage members of those communities to participate with the health care practitioners in periodically identifying and prioritizing those needs, as well as in developing appropriate interventions to meet them.

5. Range of Available Services

- We recognize that the range of services presently eligible for reimbursement does not fully meet many people's needs.

- We call for the inclusion of health education and basic training in self care as reimbursable health care services.

- In addition, we seek to assure that comprehensive health education is offered to all children in public, private, and parochial schools. Such health education should include consideration of anatomy and physiology as well as self care, self esteem, values clarification and responsible decision-making.

- We encourage the establishment of appropriate health education programs aimed at reaching all segments of the community. Such programs might be provided over local radio and cable television stations, through printed materials left in shops and community centers, and by health fairs and workshops held regularly in convenient locations.

- We support the use of complementary therapies (e.g. herbal medicines, massage, hypnosis) in health care practices.

- We encourage the inclusion of alternative health care practitioners, such as chiropractors, naturopaths, homeopaths, acupuncturists, midwives and massage therapists in health care practices, and as full participants in reimbursement under the national health care program.

- We call for the use of community-based health advisors to assist laypeople in determining the type of practitioner they should seek.

These advisors may be the same persons referenced in the health care personnel section.

6. Assuring Quality of Care

- We suggest that quality and efficacy of various health care interventions be monitored by panels including laypeople as well as professionals. Both medical and complementary therapies should be subject to review.

- We strongly encourage the development of less-costly alternatives to the current malpractice insurance system.

7. Lifestyle Choices

- We acknowledge that individuals have some measure of personal responsibility for their own health, and seek to discourage high-risk behaviors such as cigarette smoking, excessive use of alcohol and other potentially addictive substances, eating a high-fat or high-salt diet, sedentary lifestyle, and unsafe sexual practices.

- At the same time we believe that individual lifestyle choices are largely affected by environmental exposures as diverse as air pollution and television commercials, and urge the adoption of public policy aimed at controlling these exposures and protecting the health of citizens.

8. Ethical Choices

- We encourage public education and public participation in debates about ethical issues related to human health. These include abortion, right to die, surrogate parenthood, genetic engineering, and the export of unsafe health technologies (such as the Dalkon shield) to third world countries.

9. Research Directions and Subjects

- We call for periodic (at least annual) national public referenda on matters related to the allocation of resources to medical research. Such a decision-making process assumes that the public has access to information on current research issues and directions.

- We support the conduct of biomedical and health services research that intends to sustain life rather than threatens to destroy it. Some of the research avenues deserving of more attention include human biology, psychoneuroimmunology (the mind-body-health connection), epidemiology and toxicology (the patterns of disease incidence in communities and the effect on life of various potentially toxic substances), ecology (how humans relate to other life forms), and the links between learning and behavioral change.

- We encourage a shift in emphasis of the programs which train researchers from straight scientific reductionism to a more holistic and participatory approach to understanding phenomena.

- We suggest that priority be given to research that examines the therapeutic value and cost-effectiveness of complementary (non-allopathic) treatment modalities, and that determines how they can best be used in conjunction with or in place of conventional medical treatment.

10. Appropriate Use of Technology

- While we acknowledge the "miracles" performed with modern medical technology, we are deeply concerned about its high cost, unnecessary use, limited accessibility, generation of hazardous (often radioactive) waste, and overall efficacy.

- In general, we prefer that scarce health care resources be invested in low-technology interventions that serve large numbers of people.

- Likewise, we prefer to avoid the use of technology to save lives without regard to the quality of the life being saved. For example,



we question the use of high-technology interventions to save the lives of the very old, infants born with serious disabilities, and trauma victims likely to require professional care for the rest of their lives.

11. Attitudes Toward Birth, Aging, and Death

• As Greens, we recognize birth, aging and death as natural processes that we share with the other animals on the planet. We are opposed to the excessive medicalization of these processes.

• We call for the wider implementation of natural childbirth options, including the use of trained midwives and births at home.

We encourage breastfeeding of infants.

• Likewise we call for the wider implementation of hospice and other community-based programs that specialize in care for the dying.

• We encourage the participation of family members and friends in the processes of birth-ing and dying, and support family leave poli-cies that make such participation more fea-sible.

• We do not support the use of unusual mea-sures to maintain life. We prefer the use of coun-seling on the acceptance of death.

• We believe that the elderly and the terminally ill have a right to make their own decisions about their preferred time and place of dying.

• We prefer the use of preventive measures and mutual aid over high-technology interventions as the means for enabling elderly people to remain healthy and active in their own communities for as long as possible.

12. Occupational Health and Safety

• We support the rights of workers in all occupations to safe worksites and protection from potentially damaging work activities.

• We encourage the presence of independent clinics at worksites to assure that these rights are being adequately addressed.

13. Exposure to Toxins and Environmental Pollution

• We are willing to work with labor unions and other worker organizations in assuring that Right to Know laws are properly observed in workplaces where potentially hazardous substances or processes are used.

• We call for community education forums aimed at limiting or eliminating the use of household toxins, such as cleaners, solvents, drain openers, pesticides, etc.

• We urge appropriate governmental agencies and community groups to press businesses and industries suspected of causing pollution to curtail their practices. Such pressure may take the form of imposition of fines or other financial penalties, consumer boy-cotts, or plant closures.

• We encourage health practitioners to maintain records on allergies and other potential reactions to toxic exposures among their patients. With necessary assurance of confidentiality, such information from a group of health practitioners in the same community can be used to delineate the extent of a pollution problem in preparation for resolving it.

• We call for strict limitations in the use, if not outright banning, of those substances known to be harmful to humans and other life forms. Included in this list are the toxins DDT and PCBs, as well as the CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons), which, while harmless during use,

destroy the protective ozone layer when released into the atmos-phere, leading to such health problems as skin cancer and cataracts.

14. Use of Pharmaceuticals

• We deplore the dependence on drugs that has become a hall-mark of American culture. Inappropriate use of drugs can lead to harmful side effects, interactions, and/or addiction. Whenever pos-sible, we encourage practitioners to limit the use of pharmaceuticals among their patients, and to avoid making unnecessary prescrip-tions.

• We call for an expanded availability of unprocessed herbal medicines and the wide dissemination of information on their proper use. We prefer to leave decisions about use of herbal medicines in the hands of the individual. (One participant in our group asks that we mention marijuana in particular in this context. Others disagree.)

15. Assuring the Rights of Special Groups

• The mentally ill, the differently abled, persons with addictions, and persons with AIDS or ARC have all been subjected to discrimination and inappropriate treatment within the existing medical care system. We call for an elimination of prejudice against these people who have special needs, and an assurance that their rights as individuals will be hon-ored.

• We encourage the use of self-help and mutual aid support groups as adjuncts to medical care for those whose needs are long term and severe.

• We oppose coercive treatment of these individuals unless they pose an imminent threat to themselves or others.

• Inpatient and outpatient care for mental illness, physical and developmental disabilities, addictions, and AIDS should be cov-ered under the national health care program, to the extent that costs allow.

• Individuals described in this section should be involved in formulating and implementing their treatment plans to the greatest possible extent.

[We may want to mention other special groups in this section, too—for example, the homeless and the prison population.]

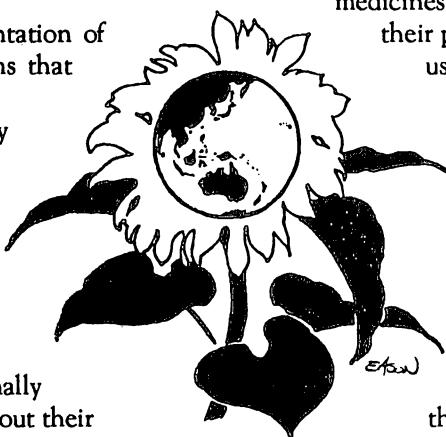
16. Population Control and Family Planning

• We humans have the choice of deciding to limit our own numbers and thereby lessen our impact upon the biosphere or to allow nature to take its course, with disastrous results likely.

• As Greens, we support the allocation of resources to research in contraceptive technologies, with the goal of finding methods of birth control that are safe, inexpensive, and easy to use. These contraceptive aids should be made widely available to all people, with appropriate guidance in their use.

• We encourage the expansion of educational and vocational opportunities to women, recognizing that women who have a strong sense of self-worth are more likely to limit family size voluntarily.

The above proposals present a broad outline of initial steps that might be taken in the direction of creating a more healthy human society. Much work needs to be done to bring these ideas to life and see them happen in the world. For a list of references and resources for further reading and names of people and organizations likely to



be interested in collaboration with Green groups, contact Donna Bird.



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Internal Organizing

Revision #1 submitted by Shirley Burton, Peninsula Greens S.F. This first cut is to bring it in line with proposed book format. The references and credits are used here for our purposes only, as you'll know, all of us are in it somewhere. Also, I left discussion issues at the end to be resolved between us and then added in. An attempt to conform to the newly adopted by-laws will be made when they are received.

INTERNAL ORGANIZING

Green organizing is rooted in our values, particularly Grassroots democracy, honoring diversity, ecological wisdom and post-patriarchal values. What this means is we are creating new ways of relating to each other, to making decisions and choosing what we support.¹

We are concerned the current model of patriarchal value-based organization with top down control and decision-making has created a powerless, conformist, mass consumer-oriented society. A society that is dependent. A society whose individual members have absolved themselves from personal responsibility.²

Greens have reclaimed political and personal power and feel personally responsible for their part or lack of a part as planetary citizens. We encourage diversity and feel there can be multiple right ways of doing things. We feel the way things get done is as important as what gets done. We are committed to using post-patriarchal process in our meetings. This means that macho, competitive, dominating behavior is not tolerated, that non-assertive people are encouraged to speak, that verbal "trashing" is not permitted, that feelings are articulated and addressed, that differences are addressed within the framework of common ground.³

Since expressing feelings has until recently been repressed in our society, we sometimes stumble in our attempts to integrate the needs of the whole person, however, we are committed to overcoming these obstacles and will persist with continued training and self-correction.⁴

Structurally, we are a grassroots-based organization. We have over 200 local organizing groups. These groups are then formed into regions. There are 36 regions. Regions are formed based on bi-regionalism concepts and not by state boundaries. Some groups choose to meet as a caucus by state (California is one example). Each region selects two delegates, one male and one female to

represent them at the interregional meetings. Delegates get input from interested members prior to meetings.⁵ If a decision is made that locals disagree with, they need to get support from a second local, then formally challenge the decision. An interregional coordinator is located in Kansas City.⁶ The role of the coordinator is to act as a clearinghouse and to support the locals through development of training materials, sending out start up kits (outline attached) and maintaining domestic and international contact persons lists.⁷

We honor diversity at the local level by allowing locals to choose how many to have in a group, what issues to work on, the only criteria being that they adopt the 10 key values and pay dues (a start up group may remain in start-up status for a year and not pay regional and national dues). Guidance is provided at regional level as a representative is assigned a role of assisting new and floundering groups. Guidance is offered at national level in the form of start up kit and organizer's manual. The manual contains case histories of what worked and what didn't and gives examples of all the different levels of participation open to new members.⁸

How We Make Decisions

We strive for a bottoms up decision-making process. Through printed material and EcoNet, every member of the Green Movement is encouraged to share in the development of the program and policies.⁹

We use a consensus decision-making process. While the decision-making method is not itself new (having been used for decades by Quakers and other religious orders and the well-documented example of Corporate Japan), it is new to American corporations and politics. It works best where members know each other well and have a daily interaction (i.e. living space or work space). It works less well with diverse groups of people who do not see each other except to make consensus decisions. We are currently experimenting with a modified consensus decision method of 80% rule. This is how it works. If the following criteria are met, our groups are empowered to put it to a vote, as long as 80% of the group wishes to put it to a vote: a. A facilitator is present. b. Equal voice is assured. c. Encourage expression of disagreement while seeking common ground. d. Gender balance. f. Evaluation process of the meeting in place.¹⁰

How We Choose Our Leaders

We Greens have been referred to as a leaderless group. This stems from our observations of human behavior of delegating too much power to the leader and the leader suffering egomania and burnout. In contemporary culture, we have confused "leaders" with heros and charismatic personalities and other "stars." The real decision-makers are invisible as leaders to the community for which they make decisions, i.e. banks, "advisors", "moguls", lobbyists, etc. These decision-makers guide and/or manipulate the heros and charismatic personalities through their hidden agenda. This complex process drops a link of communication and accountability between the community and the decision makers.¹¹

Greens recommend a decision-making process that empowers members as a peer group, creates balance between more and less active members, draws in the less active members of the community, and focuses decision-making on the community as a whole. Lead-



ership decisions can be reexamined and the inclusion of the leaders as individual community members during decision-making maintains an inclusive accountability within the community.

Each potential leader serves as an apprentice for six months to a year before assuming a more responsible role.

The Green Movement - Where We Fit With Other Groups

Most attempts at building mass organizations have been based on issues. The organization falls apart when the issue is won because its reason for being has ceased. When the Vietnam War ended, for example, the Anti-War Movement fell apart. The Green Movement will endure as an evolving community, not as an issue or task-oriented group. Those who consider themselves Green are amazingly diverse. While tied together by common values, they are not necessarily committed to the same issues. This diversity can be a strength, not a weakness, in an appropriate organizational structure.¹²

Affiliate organizations such as GreenPeace, The Nature Conservancy, Earth First are "putting out fires" all over the country, working for the future in single issue areas. They are our Green expertise and leadership as we develop answers to stopping the sources of "fires" in our society. We invite them to join as Caucus CoC groups. Affiliation with Greens benefits through the added support of the Green Movement which can participate in letter-writing campaigns, testimony at hearings and appearances at rallies. Rather than isolation in a single issue, they have an opportunity to shape a unified solution to our ecological and social problems. It is time for formal cooperation between organizations working on similar issues and the reduction of organizational competition for supporters. The Green structure attempts to provide incentives and rewards for this cooperation.¹² As an example of this special interest / caucus / CoC affiliation, Eco-Home is a prime example. Eco-Home has 400 members, only a few of which are members of Green CoC, however, they have their own CoC and through which influence the whole Green network. This means they choose by consensus decision-making method to have a small committee become part of Green CoC and the rest do what they elect to do. That way they are independent and also interconnected to a broader-based movement for social change.¹³

In practice, our organizing and interconnecting with other like-minded groups is based on each local's ability and resources to grow and develop their network. It is a patchwork. It is organic. It is not orderly. At times, it appears chaotic and disorderly and out of control. It is however, like nature, evolving at a pace innately determined but unknown to its adherents. It is the complete opposite of the current status quo—where predictability and control are valued.

Resource Sharing—Traditionally Known as Training and Development of Members and Organization.¹⁴

Being recently self-empowered, we have a sensitive concern of "Experts" so we think of ourselves as resource sharers—growing and learning together, as opposed to domination over and expertise over the ones who know less.

However, we have identified several areas of resource sharing needs. These are skills needed to live in a society of shared power. It is our hope all who read this will identify with this need and

educate themselves in these neglected aspects of our formal education. They are:

1. Listening Skills.
2. Facilitation Skills.
3. Leadership.
4. Consensus Decision-Making: Models for large diverse groups.
5. Emotional Literacy.
6. Non-Violent Civil Disobedience.
7. Fund Raising.
8. Successful Meetings.
9. Green Orientation.
10. Green Living.
11. Organizing.
12. Networking.

We are in the process of gathering names, addresses and phone numbers of individuals who are available to share the above referenced skills with us. A copy will be made available to each local to initiate action and meet their members' developmental needs.

SPAKA References and Credits

1. Adapted from Dee Berry's Preamble and rewording input from Twin Cities Greens EcoNet Topic 21 and influenced by Michael Wyatt's SPAKA on emotional literacy entitled "Green Politics: Will it Really Unite Personal and Social Change," and Eugene Principles sub-group.
2. Dee Berry's SPAKA "Greenprint for Organizing"
3. Influenced by WomanEarth Feminist Peace Inst. SPAKA
4. Michael Wyatt's SPAKA, see 1.
5. Eugene Structure and Design sub-group
6. Input after SPAKA. Twin Cities Greens response topic 47, item #7 & #8
7. Local organizing sub-group at Eugene
8. Pure Shirley Burton (SB) with influence from Dee Berry's SPAKA
9. Pure SB
10. Eugene Process sub-group
11. Seattle Greens SPAKA "Leadership: A Question of Community Responsibility" and Eugene Process sub-group
12. Columbia Willamette Greens SPAKA "A Design for a Green Organization"
13. Eco Home SPAKA
14. Eugene Resource sub-group

Outline for "Start-up Kit" specifically to answer inquiries on how to be a local CoC*

- 1 Cover Letter (What this kit is all about)
- 2 10 Key Values sheet
- 3 Exact criteria & procedure to become a local CoC, including application form
- 4 Exact administrative procedure required to operate as a local CoC*
- 5 Copy of current Interregional & Regional (if available) CoC Working Guidelines
- 6 National contacts list (group and group contact mailing address, phone number(s), & electronic addresses.
- 7 Current CoC Directory
- 8 Bibliography of Green Books
- 9 Bibliography of local & regional newsletters
- 10 Organizational tools list (description and price list/order form of videos, brochures, promotional & educational materials, updated regularly)
- 11 CoC Brochure (that would be more appropriate for a local to use, & has an updated interregional & national history section)
- 12 Examples and suggestions addendum to include: an intro-



duction listing commonalities—actual case histories

* Also a second kit tailored to answer inquiries on how to be a regional CoC.

Discussion Issues

Any Green who has attended the marathon regional or IC meetings, with their endless agenda and constantly increasing number of attendees needing to be heard, knows we have a problem.

The first problem is there is no control of agenda items (some items get on IC agenda which could have been handled at Regional or even Local level first—for input and consensus—or just to try out the idea, and the second problem is the number of people in Cal. region with 14-22 locals is 30-40 making “discussing” and at IC with 36 locals and two delegates we are at 72 people “discussing”. This is too many people for any discussion. 10 people discuss. 72 people put on a show.

Many of the SPAKAS address this issue. They came at them in two ways:

1. The method is the problem. Consensus is not working. It works with small close network and live-in groups. Let's go to Majority Rule. Let's go check other groups out. My thought is the Japan Corporate model might apply.

2. The structure is the problem. Let's have another layer of structure—called Area. Or, let's limit our locals to 20 people each.

These are crucial problems that need resolutions. I am not sure this is the appropriate format for doing this. Our organizing group not only took on the task of describing our organizing position, we got into playing organizational development consultants. I think we need to separate out these two areas. I propose we write up the current status of what we're doing organizationally, maybe with small additions that we think will get consensused to in Boulder. Then split off the major problem above, discuss it and see if we can agree to a solution—then put it on as an agenda item for the IC to agree to.

In the discussions in Eugene the following theme prevailed...

1. No more lawyers—they're getting too hierarchical. 2. Keep consensus. 3. However, there was not time to think up new solutions.

Based on above, the only way I can see to make things better is to reduce the number of people and the number of agenda items. I propose:

At regional and IC levels, one delegate instead of two. Alternating females and males. That the agenda items be controlled and there be clear guidelines as to what is appropriate to be on IC agenda, regional agenda and local agenda. The IC agenda items be limited to a regional item vs. one individual thinking up something—those items be returned for check out at local and regional levels. My personal experience has been too many people talk unnecessarily when item has already been discussed and others have already said the same thing. Meetings are not uplifting, but unwieldy and frustrating, and the end product after hours of talk is not worth the time spent. We have lost many good members through exposure to these meetings. If we do nothing else in 1990, let's resolve this one.

By Shirley Burton, S.F. Peninsula Greens, 1/15/90. For those interested, I'll be glad to share copies of related SPAKAS if you don't have them. Thanks.

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Left-Green Network

The Left Green Network (LGN) has not yet had an opportunity to do any collective evaluation of the draft program. The LGN's Coordinating Council will be meeting in Chicago, April 13-15, and considering proposals for how the LGN should deal with the draft program. Any LGN evaluations or suggested changes in the draft program will have to be approved by the membership at the LGN's Continental Conference, June 29-July 1 in Plainfield, Vermont.



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Life Forms

The life forms working group has received a slow, but steady stream of responses to our working group report. As of the moment, we (the coordinators) have not incorporated any of these responses into our document since we are hoping to receive further input from the members of our group (so far, no members have contacted us about the feed-back we have received.) It was, therefore, recommended that we summarize some of the comments we have received and try to clarify what we feel the major issues of contention are at this point.

The feed-back that we have received has ranged from comments about our “very impressive work” to claims that our positions are “absurd.” Most of the critical responses revolve around the notion that we are taking an extreme position that will alienate the average citizen or eliminate individual choice. We will try to respond to these criticisms and to explain why our group has taken the positions that we have.

The four areas that seem to be the focal point of concern appear to be 1) hunting, trapping and fishing for sport 2) the encouragement of vegetarianism 3) our opposition to genetic engineering 4)



our discouragement of further breeding of companion animals.

Sport-hunting: The position that we have taken is that sport-hunting and commercial trapping should be abolished. It seems that some greens are under the impression that hunting, when used as a means of "game management," can play a positive role in the environment. The life forms working group takes exception to this claim. Unlike natural predators, hunters typically kill the biggest and healthiest animals, thereby causing severe disruption to the gene pool and evolutionary development of the animals that they kill. Many wounded animals also die slow, agonizing deaths. Hunters argue that overpopulated animals must be "harvested" in order to keep their species in check. However, the truth of the matter is that hunters typically kill off the predators that would naturally keep the prey species in check. Far from being the solution to the "overpopulation problem," hunting is actually a prime reason why it exists. There are many other ecological arguments that could be summoned in support of our position. (According to a Senate Commerce Committee Report on the Endangered Species Act of 1973, "The two major causes of extinction are hunting and destruction of habitat."); but beyond these considerations, it is important to recognize that sport-hunting, fishing and trapping run counter to one of the ten key values of the greens—namely, nonviolence. How can we, as greens, support a recreational or commercial activity that involves the deliberate infliction of pain and death on other living beings. Some final food for thought: The word "venery" refers to both "hunting" and "the art of sexual pleasure," and the word "venison" derives from the name "Venus," the Roman Goddess of love. Surely, as greens, we can encourage people to develop other forms of pleasure seeking.

Vegetarianism: We consider our statement on the "encouragement of vegetarianism" to be very mild in light of the extremely harmful impact of meat-eating on the environment, animals and human health. There is, in our opinion, no more ecologically damaging activity that our society currently engages in. We do not feel that we are "forcing our views" on anyone. We just want people to become aware of the facts and to encourage them to make informed, ethical choices in their lives. If anyone still has questions about the destructive impact of meat-eating, we encourage them to read John Robbins' *Diet for a New America* as well as Carol Adams' *THE SEXUAL POLITICS OF MEAT: A FEMINIST/VEGETARIAN CRITICAL THEORY*.

Companion Animals: There seems to be some confusion about our position on this issue, with some people thinking that we are asking people to "give up their pets." Actually, we commend those people who have rescued homeless animals who would otherwise be killed. What we wanted to address, above all, in this section is the tremendous problem of overpopulation that currently exists among companion animals. Thousands of animals are presently being put to death in shelters throughout the country due to lack of homes. Although spaying and neutering is not an ideal solution, it is the best one we currently have. The domestication of companion animals has brought with it a host of ethical problems that have no easy solutions. Consider that companion animals are typically fed the bodies of factory farm animals as food. The pet food industry thus directly supports the exploitation of those domesticated animals who are not designated as "pets." Consider also that no matter how well they are treated, companion animals are ultimately the

captives of humans; it is humans that must determine their fate in such matters as housing, food and sexual activity. Although many people provide caring and loving homes for their companion animals, there is no way to escape the fact that the relationship must involve an element of dominance and control. (For more on this notion, read Yi-Fu Tuan's *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets.*) Many of us, I think, would like to see the *eventual* phasing out of companion animals. However, we have not stated this in our platform statement which only addresses the *breeding* of companion animals. The overpopulation of companion animals is the central reality that we currently face and this is the problem that we have tried to address.

Genetic engineering: A few people wrote that they felt that genetic engineering may have some benefits. One scientist argued that he thought it would be a mistake to abolish the "production (sic) of transgenic animals." Part of the green philosophy is learning how to live in harmony and ecological balance with the rest of nature. The manipulation of other living beings by means of genetic engineering represents the antithesis of this notion. It is the ultimate form of hubris in which humans seek not to adapt to nature but to force nature to adapt to us. If anyone has any lingering doubts about the benefits of genetic engineering, we strongly recommend that you read Jeremy Rifkin's *Algeny: A New Word a New World*.

Other Comments: One person also wrote that they felt that the "use (sic) of animals in zoos and aquariums can be beneficial." It is precisely the mentality of "using" animals that our working group seeks to oppose. We have tried, in our group, to address both a concern for the environment and ecology as well as concern for the integrity of individual beings. No living being should be used as a means for someone else's ends.

One other writer also expressed a concern that we address the need to care for "non-living reality" in addition to "life forms," since living and non-living reality are so intricately intertwined. This is a point worth considering. Some deep ecologists have, in fact, preferred to speak of the need to respect all "forms of the biosphere." The advantage of such wording is that it refers more clearly to such aspects of nature as rivers, streams and air. In addition, an emphasis on life forms could, perhaps, be interpreted as implying a denial of the importance of the other half of the life-cycle—namely, death. Buddhists, in particular, have been careful not to overemphasize the life aspect of nature's cycle over against that of death. It is, in fact, precisely our society's fear of death that has wreaked such violence on the non-human world. Thus, scientists routinely kill animals in laboratories in the perverted hope that somehow if animals die, human beings will be allowed to live. On the other hand, we are the "life forms" working group and some of the life form members might be apprehensive about the tentative conclusion of the above writer that, "maybe we shouldn't be able to draw the line between living and non-living reality." Although many of us in the life form working group are trying to get away from the mentality of "line-drawing," we do feel that it is important to emphasize the differing needs of all "forms of the biosphere." The needs of plants, animals, rivers and streams do differ and hopefully we are attuned enough to know what those differences are.

We appreciate the time and effort that everyone has taken to respond to our working group report. Although this is not a thorough summary of all the feed-back we have received, all



responses will be considered in the creation of the final report.



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Peace & Non-Violence

[There has been no consensus on this January 1990 draft. It is my writing and editing, working from the Eugene draft and correspondence received since August '89. Suggestions and criticisms have come from several green groups, independent sources, and working group members. I think it is a useful draft and I submit it for general affirmation and further editing.]

Green politics challenges direct and structural violence of all kinds: assaults against the integrity of the individual, the family, the bioregion, the nation and the biosphere.

We proceed from these basic assumptions:

Means and ends are inseparable.

Non-violent means are always preferable to violent ones.

We in the first world have the most control over the means of violence, and have special responsibility to work to overcome the conditions which promote violence.

Militarism and patriarchy perpetuate violence, the first by the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, the second by systematic violence against women, children, disenfranchised people and all life.

Violence is more than harm or destruction of life, but includes circumstances which preclude people from access to land, food, meaningful work, healthful environment and health resources, justice and education. Violence must also be defined as ethnic, religious, cultural, age, or gender relationships which are oppressive.

Furthermore:

We acknowledge that people will use methods they know in confronting violence and undercutting the institutions of oppression and violence they face, as in struggles for self-determination and self-defense. We support such struggles though we deplore the often violent means. Here Greens take active responsibility for creating non-violent structures and alternatives and making them known, as well as urging use of existing means for negotiation.

U.S. Greens demand:

- the elimination of all nuclear weapons (space, land, and sea) and the end of production and research;
- the elimination of all bio-chemical weapons, and the end of production and research;
- the abolition of "low intensity" conflict, "discriminate deterrence" terrorism, capital punishment and all forms of life-

threatening organized violence and oppression;

- the abolition of arms and weapons markets and sales, domestic and abroad;
- the elimination of nuclear power plants;
- the research and development of energy based on solar, wind, water and waste resources;
- the abolition of involuntary service (i.e. military) or child-bearing.

Means to these demands include:

- Development and active support of existing structures and new structures for the non-violent resolution of conflicts, global to personal, i.e. UN to community-based dispute resolution services.
- Negotiations for arms control and disarmament at all levels.
- Research and development of creative, constructive, educational, artistic, entertaining and recreational resources and technology, and workers' retraining that will replace the existing industries of profit-through-violence.
- Work with current institutions (such as schools and media) to promote the ethics and skills of non-violence, and to counter the teaching of enemy thinking, use of coercion, and problem-solving by authority figures and force.
- Development of parallel or counter institutions and relationships which include civilian-based defense and a world mediation service.
- Provide and support public education in collaborative problem-solving, conflict resolution, cooperative play, and skills for a partnership society.
- Non-violent direct actions and civil disobedience that is creative, animating, and educational to demonstrate specific demands.



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Social Justice

Preamble

We have inherited a world in which the future of life itself is in question. After almost 500 years of exploitation and oppression on this continent, we as Greens are offering an opportunity to restore a sense of harmony and sacredness to our land and peoples. We call upon the wisdom of the Ancient Ones; on the Native Americans who first walked here; and on the women and men who over the centuries worked for values rooted in respect for nature, diversity, cooperation and gentleness.

Our children are facing a culture which teaches them everything is to be sold, used, abused and disposed of. They are taught by this



culture that progress means the destruction of sacred lands for mining, increased risks of cancer and birth defects for those living near toxic dumps and trash burners, and to accept growing up without meaningful work or security. They are coming to believe that their future can be separated from the fate of the Earth.

To create a way of living worth passing on, we must transform the institutions and values of the dominant life-denying culture. The society Greens are creating sees an intimate connection between our rights as individuals and our responsibilities to our neighbors, our community and the earth. The balance between our rights and responsibilities grows out of processes which promote the maximum participation of everyone in the decisions that affect our well being, our economic security, our social and international policies and how we live our lives. Through our concrete work, our projects, programs, activities, events and actions, Greens are committed to establishing relationships that honor diversity, that support the self definition and self determination of people, that consciously confront the barriers of racism, sexism, heterosexism, class oppression, ageism, ablebodiedism and the many ways our culture separates us from working together to define and solve the common dangers we face.

Our vision of the future grows from an honest look at the past. As Greens we will no longer evade looking at the pain and destruction the dominant culture has created. Each of us, claiming our own power, our own legacy of struggle, our own responsibility, can choose to participate in restoring our dignity and shaping a new future.

International Responsibility

We advocate solidarity with and support for people struggling throughout the world to control their own lives and to bring about the necessary radical social and political changes that will enable us to move toward a future based on respect for life and the earth. We believe the greatest contribution we as Greens can make to the struggles of people throughout the world is to change the very institutions and values of our own country which depend on the continued exploitation and dehumanization of land and people, especially in Third and Fourth World countries. We endorse and support the efforts of people to define themselves and to determine their own way of living. Greens condemn the policies and actions of the United States government which repress these efforts. We specifically denounce the assault on Indigenous Peoples, their cultures and their lands. We oppose our governments continued support of both the Apartheid regime in South Africa and the repressive government in China, the infusing of U.S. money weapons and military personnel to governments guilty of human rights violations such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Israel, and the covert interference to subvert rightfully elected governments as in Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, Chile, Angola and Nicaragua. We condemn US government decisions to disregard International Law and the jurisdiction of the World Court. We further condemn the efforts of the northern Industrialized nations to concentrate resources and privileges in their hands at the expense of our sisters and brothers in the nations of the South. We embrace the efforts by the UN, the World Court and the various regional bodies who are struggling to exercise independent judgment and principles outside the control of the US and multinational corporate interests. We further ap-

plaud and endorse all efforts towards people to people diplomacy and the establishment of sister cities and projects which enable us to relate to one another with respect and dignity. As specific policy recommendations we call for:

- The cancellation of all Third World Debt;
- The cancellation of all military and economic aid to governments guilty of human rights violations including El Salvador, Guatemala, Israel;
- Ending of all military aid and occupation in other countries;
- The ending of all covert actions;
- National Security policies based on the understanding that our security rests in a safe, productive and vital citizenry;
- Adherence to International laws and World Court decisions;
- Adoption of UN convention on the Rights of Children;
- Economic support for UN health projects.

Commitment to Fundamental Human Needs

We are committed to the creation of economic, political and social systems which provide for all our citizens basic necessities of life. We understand that these necessities include: permanence (or subsistence), protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom. Adequate housing, food and income are essential for permanence; education for understanding; health care and information essential for protection. These needs are compatible with concepts of development which rest on respect for our human desires to engage fully and freely with one another and to live in harmony with the earth. (Adapted from TOES.)

Racial Justice/Anti Racism

The USA began with the invasion of the Western Hemisphere by Europeans. These colonialists brought with them a way of life forged by the dispossession of people in Europe from their land and traditions rooted in respect for the Earth. To amass wealth the ideology of racism was created justifying the genocide of Native Peoples, the enslavement of African Americans and the exploitation of Hispanics, Asians and other people of color around the globe. Throughout our history, race has been used politically, economically, socially and psychologically to justify and protect those with power and privilege.

Although all people of European descent have benefited from racism, they have not all benefited equally. Nor have they all participated equally in its perpetuation. Throughout our history there have always been some women and men of European descent who have also done anti-racist work. Our culture obscures their legacy, just as it reduces racism to attitudes of prejudice and acts of discrimination. Greens define racism as prejudice plus power. Power means that prejudice is systematically enforced by the distribution and use of resources and institutions and those who have access to them.

In recognition of the central role of racism in the creation of our country's government, social and economic systems and the use of race as a means of dividing and destroying progressive movements for fundamental change, Greens are actively anti-racist. We oppose institutional, interpersonal and cultural racism. We acknowledge that the environmental movements of the 1970s and 1980s often were unable to see that the most intense environmental degra-



tion destroys the lives and communities of people of color. And we also acknowledge that these communities organize in resistance to this destruction. We actively seek their leadership and wisdom.

We support efforts by African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and Asian communities to take political control over their lives by bringing decision making concerning politics, economics, and security to the community. We support community based economies that are responsive to the needs and desires of neighborhoods through such means as land trusts, credit unions, reinvestment and neighborhood development. We advocate the creation of housing for all people, the establishment of a national health care system, national child care and protection, open education which respects cultural integrity and language diversity.

We call for the honoring of all treaties between the U.S. Government and Native Americans and stand in solidarity with the peoples of Big Mountain, White Earth and all areas where efforts are going on to protect sacred lands.

As Greens we especially challenge people of European ancestry to accept their responsibility to confront racism, to discover their own heritage of resistance, and to actively learn about cultures other than their own.

As we do these things we will be in the position to participate in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic movement which draws upon our many cultural traditions to create a life-affirming society.

Children

Our fundamental obligation is to secure the future for our children and their children's children. Children have the right to enter a world which provides for their basic needs of permanence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom. We advocate the full participation of children in determining how these needs can best be assured.

We advocate the adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as the basis for national policies protecting children from abuse and neglect, armed conflicts, imposed labor, lack of education, discrimination because of differing abilities, ill health, sexual exploitation, denial of nationality and restricted development.



Housing

MINDFUL that everyone has a basic right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of themselves and their families including food, clothing, shelter and liveable communities,

AFFIRMING the right of everyone to a decent and affordable place to live, a safe environment, and secure living conditions,

CONSCIOUS that housing policies in the U.S. are deficient environmentally and inadequate to meet the enormous needs of people and that such policies have created a severe and systemic housing crisis,

RECOGNIZING housing budgets across the world have dropped, on average, 75 percent in the last decade, while population growth, pollution, and military budgets mushroomed,

CONVINCED that the obscenity of homelessness, estimated at three million in the United States and many times that worldwide, is the most dramatic result of the lack of affordable housing,

BELIEVING that decentralized control and empowering residents and local neighborhood groups as a matter of entitlement will significantly increase the quality of living conditions leading to tenure security, space utilization, energy efficiency, child care services and other residential amenities and protect tenants from eviction,

WE ADVOCATE immediate steps to alleviate the housing crisis including a variety of interconnected solutions:

- Increasing neighborhood stability through prevention of the loss of lower income housing by speculation or "development projects" which depend upon the displacement of the poor;

- Placing responsibility for housing in the hands of democratically run institutions such as community economic development corporations, limited income cooperatives and neighborhood credit unions;

- Encouraging the development of neighborhoods honoring economic, social, age, ability, and ethnic diversity.

- Making available government monies for cooperative ventures for modifying empty office and other buildings including commercial and residential foreclosures into affordable apartments for low income persons, especially those accessible to mass transit;

- Encouraging rural and urban homesteading; * Preserving existing housing stock.

Gender Justice

This section unchanged.

Women Directed/Women Exploited Advertisements

This section unchanged.

Population

This section unchanged.

Men

Men suffer from the way our society is structured. They are culturally defined in terms of work and developed to extol violence, competition, and domination at the expense of their own feelings. We support and encourage all efforts by men to break free from these cultural constraints and to reclaim the fullness of their humanity.

The continual suppression of feelings and the common unhappiness of men are not only self-destructive, they also lead men to direct their destruction toward others. Bottled up feelings spill over into many forms of aggression, violence and the abuse of power. The



planet is poised on the verge of oblivion as the result of macho posturing. We understand that this definition of masculinity is a cultural and political invention. It has denied men ways of relating which are peaceful, cooperative and life enhancing. We acknowledge that the key to the healing of men and the necessary transformation of our present life-hating culture is one that rejects the myth of male supremacy and the ideology of masculinity. We reject the idea that men are inherently violent. We believe men, like women, are capable of a full range of human emotions and experiences which are essential to creating relationships of respect and a society based on peace and cooperation.

Heterosexism

We acknowledge the significant role that lesbian, gay, and bisexual people have played in the advancement of peace and social justice, human rights and the respect for human diversity. We support the struggle of lesbian, gay and bisexual people for liberation, and recognize that their voices are vital to building a new society. We reject heterosexism — the cultural belief, supported and enforced by political, social, and economic institutions which hold that the only legitimate form of sexual expression is that between men and women. We understand this view to be intrinsically tied to male violence and to require the exercise of physical and psychological force to maintain it. We oppose heterosexism in all its forms.

Greens affirm the humanity, dignity, and worth of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, knowing that their love is natural and sacred. We affirm the right of young people to be brought up with full knowledge and discussion of their sexuality, affirming homosexual and/or heterosexual feelings as essential to enrich their own lives and the lives of those around them.

We support and advocate the right of lesbian, gays and bisexuals to achieve full social, political, and economic equality. We support civil rights in housing, jobs and child custody. We advocate the legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships and regard such unions as having the same worth, dignity and sanctity as heterosexual marriage. We are committed to struggles to end violence, harassment and discrimination. We are especially concerned with protecting, respecting and supporting people with HIV, ARC and AIDS and join efforts to bring about increased funding for research, education and access to new treatments. We support funding for increased social services for all people with AIDS and related conditions.

Dying and Ecological Death

Please move to health.

Call to Action

Eliminate 2 as relates to gathering.



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Gayle Hudgens, 6301 Gasten #344, Dallas, TX 75215, 214-821-
1968

*Gary Stuard, 4317 Stanford, Houston, TX 77006, 713-524-3228



Strategy

The following is an update of the Strategy SPAKA based on written communications by recognized Green CoC locals to the Strategy co-coordinators as of December 27, 1989. The communications used for this update were those which specifically addressed points of the Strategy SPAKA published in the Autumn 1989 edition of Green Letter/Greener Times. The locals that have contributed to this update include: The Greater Kansas Greens; the Canyon Greens; the Auburn Greens; and the Twin Cities Greens. Feedback based on those Green delegates who blocked the original statement at the Eugene Gathering was also incorporated. Other discussion materials have been received from individuals and GCOC locals, and are being circulated among the Strategy SPAKA working group members for formal inclusion at a later time.

We are asking that Greens review this update and provide the co-coordinators with specific comments as they are developed by their locals. Since the goal is to have 80% of the work done prior to the Boulder gathering it is important that submissions be made promptly and on specific points, providing concise and constructive revisions.

The concern over national elections (i.e., presidential) seems to be reaching some consensus. Brian Tokar summed it up best:

"My own position is that as Greens, our strength lies in local activism and in our ability to pressure officials and mainstream politicians to take stronger stands on ecological issues. Direct involvement in presidential politics under the present system (TV oriented campaigns, packaged candidates, etc.) would, in my opinion, only weaken our ability to be heard at this level. I think we had a pretty strong consensus about this in the working group [in Eugene], and hope we can convince people of this position through further clarification of our reasons, etc."

The development of the Green CoC Electoral Action Working Group through the Inter-regional Committee at the October, 1989 Washington D.C. IC meeting would seem to be addressing the concern that a Green political presence be developed on all levels. Please write to Brian Chambers (see below) if you would like to participate in the Electoral Action Working Group.

One GCOC local's consensus was that each issue area contain an operationalization of a strategy component; the Strategy working group could then concentrate on strategies for networking, coordination, sharing resources, etc.

Strategy

Greens in the United States of America recognize and accept the need to transform our society from its current domination state into a Greener society where honorable human values guide our actions. This transformation can be achieved by embracing a strategy that celebrates the human spirit as it diminishes power hierarchies. To



this end:

1. Greens shall work toward the creation of a visible and effective Green presence everywhere in the United States. We strongly affirm the grass roots focus of the Green movement and the building of a strong network of local and regional groups through the Green Committees of Correspondence.

2. As a national movement, we shall work to share information and experiences of successes and failures of local efforts. We encourage ties with Green activists internationally, and see networking as an important part of municipal, regional, and national efforts.

3. We need a coherent strategy for building alliances with Native people and the disenfranchised and oppressed, based upon:

a. Self-knowledge of our own cultures, going back to our tribal roots;

b. Greater information about and appreciation of the disenfranchised and oppressed and what goes on in these communities;

c. Networking with and actively entering the cultures of disenfranchised and oppressed communities. We shall seek out their meetings and find bases for partnership. This might involve redrafting basic values, among other things;

d. Building coalitions through common projects and personal friendships;

e. Working actively on third world environmental, peace, and justice struggles.

4. In all our activities Greens shall work toward the development of alliances with like-minded environmental, peace, justice, and grass roots groups in our communities and regions. The Green vision is one of reducing fragmentation across the progressive movements in the United States.

5. We support the creation of public assemblies in towns, neighborhoods, and communities as part of our strategy of grass roots empowerment. We shall work toward active involvement with public assemblies where they currently exist and shall work toward the creation of public assemblies where they do not yet exist.

6. Our local work shall reflect a strong focus on the connections between social and environmental issues and support for ecologically wise and socially responsible local endeavors.

7. Elections are important, especially at the local level. We support creative combinations of electoral work with direct action as the hallmark of Green electoral experiments. Alliances are necessary to the success of electoral efforts and to the effectiveness of direct actions, especially at the local level.

8. National electoral efforts shall be undertaken only after local and regional electoral successes are coupled with the development of a strong Green presence throughout our country. While we do not believe it will be feasible to run either candidates or a collegial slate for the presidency in 1992, we strongly encourage exploring ways we can begin to build a Green political presence at all levels.

9. We encourage innovative thinking about ways in which the Greens can project an effective voice on national and global issues in opposition to the misrepresentations and myths promoted by the established power structure. As an opposition voice Greens shall focus national and public attention on the need for a fundamental restructuring of power and a transformation of our society.

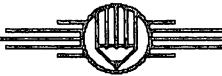
The following issues were not strongly supported, but were felt by many to need further discussion:

1. Structuring the GCOC to strengthen grassroots democracy and accountability (e.g., at national meetings only accredited delegates should be involved in decision-making processes).

2. Beginning to think about the concept of a collegial (collective) presidential candidate for 1996.

3. Spreading the idea of a "rainbow from below" and beginning to describe ourselves as "rainbow Greens" (Small "r"). One GCOC local asked that ties with the Rainbow Coalition be rejected by the Greens since it is not believed to be a Green organization in either structure or function (non-hierarchical and striving for consensus). One GCOC local asked that an alliance be established with the Rainbow Coalition to form a powerful vehicle for broad solidarity and goodwill. One GCOC local asked that discussion be held on describing ourselves as "rainbow family Greens."

4. Including issues of farm and lab animal rights in electoral campaigns. Some consensus needs to be arrived at on this issue.



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*Brian Chambers, 1411 Henry, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, 313-663-0003.



Technology

Throughout history, we have labored to increase our knowledge of the universe, our life origins, and ourselves. The pursuit of this knowledge, if carried out honestly and interpreted in perspective, does not present an essential conflict with our spiritual development. Basic research fulfills a need to understand who we are and where we came from.

Use of this knowledge can help us realize our ambition of sustainable living. Applied research and technological development can contribute to the positive evolution of our civilization, as long as the direction of this research is not biased, as it presently is, by the greed of powerful economic interests, and as long as respect for the sanctity of life and the natural systems is not compromised.

We are not in opposition to scientific pursuit, but we are alarmed at the arrogant attitude that has come with our past successes. An assumption of ubiquitous validity has become entrenched in many of the older fields of science. The history of advanced society is a litany of technological deployment before understanding, with disastrous consequences for the natural world and for our own civilization. We have come to think of our bodies and minds, natural systems and the Earth as nothing more than machines—to be taken apart, analyzed, and modified at will.

We advocate placing a higher priority, in funding and public attention, on the sciences which involve the connectedness of



systems. These include the study of ecological systems, the interaction of social and political systems, the effects of technology on human development, and many other "crossover" studies. These fields of knowledge, many of them in a primitive state relative to the older "pure sciences," will allow us better to analyze our collective behavior as a society, and to make informed choices about how to create a just and stable civilization.

The gathering of this knowledge should be carried out with the sense of respect for the subject that we advocate in all our other interactions with the Earth and its inhabitants. And the power of this knowledge must not seduce us into the belief that we can reformulate the living systems of Earth, by genetic manipulation or other technology, to suit our selfish desires.

As new technologies are developed and even as they are anticipated, their consequences on all levels should be considered. Technology can no longer be thought of simply as machines, but must be recast as the ensemble of processes, institutions, artifacts, and so on.

Some of the political ramifications of technology are centralization, increased size of organizations, hierarchical authority, displacement of traditional activities, and reorienting people's ends to suit the structure of available means. Also, a society preoccupied with devices is unable to understand or develop sensitivity for nature. The pattern of life in harmony with nature is radically at odds with a life filled with devices.

These distinctive technological patterns of modern life profoundly inhibit the green vision of grassroots, decentralized, local politics with commitment to social justice and ecological sensitivity. However, some technologies enhance the goals of the Green movement and can accelerate the implementation of our vision. Therefore, we must have the ability and the desire to predict the consequences of new technologies, before they become economically and politically entrenched. We must also have the courage to re-assess those technologies already in place.

The once bright promise of automation freeing us from the tedious routines of industrialism to pursue more creative endeavors remains unfulfilled. Yet studies have shown that with today's technology, each person in the U.S. needs to work only a few hours per week to meet all our needs. Why the discrepancy? As Greens we recognize the cause of this distortion is mindless consumerism, and constant inflation due to monopolization of land and natural resources, increasing taxation, money manipulation, and maldistribution of wealth. We seek to remedy these inequities in order to encourage and allow for a society devoted to creativity and recreation, rather than the work ethic of Calvinism. Freed from constant economic pressure, each individual will be more likely to achieve self-actualization. We intend for technology to fulfill its purpose as a liberating agent for human kind.

In summary, our present technological development has far exceeded our capacity to deal with the consequences. It has also failed to free us from unnecessary toil. This has been due primarily to technology serving materialism and selfish interests. Only if technology is guided by spiritual principles such as the 10 Green values, can the hazards be prevented, and the benefits shared. In other words, if technology is used to enhance the quality of life, without damaging the Biosphere, then it is appropriate technology.

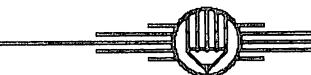


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(This group did not meet at Eugene.)



Water/Air

"Water is Life, air is life, we are one."



*Barbara Harmony, Route 3 Box 720, Eureka Springs, AR 72632, 501-253-9431.



Youth Greens

Some questions have arisen concerning the Youth Greens.

- (1) Who are the coordinators?
- (2) Who is authorized to speak for them?
- (3) What is their role in the SPAKA ratification process?

We have received conflicting information from various members after many attempts to reach coordinators who were selected at the Eugene Conference. Only one of the coordinators responded after two letters were sent to each, and follow up phone calls were made. Each has moved since addresses were published in the August 1989 *Green Letter*, but the new addresses and phone numbers have not been sent to us. The only coordinator who returned our call states the Youth Greens are not participating in the SPAKA ratification process and that communication in the group is minimal because the Youth Greens are participating in their locals instead. Other information received from a member of the Youth Greens is that they are participating in the SPAKA ratification process, and will be discussing it at a meeting tentatively scheduled for June. The coordinators did not furnish us with a contact address, but a member we contacted at the suggestion of one of the coordinators, told us that the Youth Greens now have a clearinghouse. Correspondence should be sent to the clearinghouse address below.

—Christa Slaton, 2/16/90



David Schlosberg, Youth Green Clearinghouse, c/o Survival Center, E.M.U. Suite 1, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403
(503) 686-4356.



No Response

We have received no response to letters and phone calls from the following working groups:

Foreign Policy & Internationalism

Peter Staudenmaier, PO Box 2, Harbor Springs, MI 49740, 616-348-2929

International Green Network

Joe Peterson, 4880 Donald, Eugene, OR 97405

International

Clair Greensfelder, 2267 Summer St., Berkeley, CA 94709, 415-849-1342 (h), 415-931-2593 (w)

Ross Mirkarimi, c/o San Francisco Greens, 777 Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94110, 415-863-5364

Land Use

Harvey Jacobs, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, 925 Bascom Mall / Old Music Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53705, 608-262-1004

Paul H. Johnson, 915 Pierce St. #305, San Francisco, CA 94115, 415-922-7760 (h)

People of Color

Yanique Joseph, PO Box 5194, New York, NY 10185, 718-465-4683
Jacinta McCoy - Planning Group, 1333 Overhulse Rd., NW, Olympia, WA 98502, 206-866-6833

Politics

Katie Kadwell, 149 W. Wilson #2, Madison, WI 53703
Richard Latker, 29 E. Wilson #202, Madison, WI 53703, 608-255-1321

Questions concerning the lack of response from working group coordinators will be taken up at the Boulder planning group meeting in San Diego. In the meantime, if locals or working group participants have input for these groups that has not been acknowledged, the information should be sent to Christa Slaton, 128 Tal Heim Dr., Auburn, AL 36830. Phone: 205-821-1077.

No Input

The following groups received no input from locals:

Animal Liberation

Connie Salamone, 616 Sixth St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, 718-522-6138

*Sharon B. Kaplan, 13352 Maham Road #275, Dallas TX 75240-6118, 214-680-2433

Direct Action

Adam Diamond, 2826 Baker, Eugene OR 97403, 503-484-1665.

*Mark L. Williams, 19 E. Third Apt. 2, Long Beach, CA 90802, 818-905-0583 (wants someone else to take place)

Eco-philosophy

Eric Higgs, Environmental Studies Program, Rice Hall 16, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074-1095, 718-522-6138

Lorna Salzman, 29 Middagh St., Brooklyn, NY 11201, 718-522-6138.

Green Community

David A. Lillie, 3305 Fourth St., Boulder, CO 80304, 303-443-7654

Mariide Widmann, 4868 24th Ave-S, Seattle WA 98108, 206-723-4744.

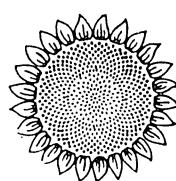
Labor Caucus

*Kathryn Hawkins, 211 South Lane, El Canon, CA 92021, 619-442-7528.

*Peter Saperman, 527 E. 12th St. Apt. B6, New York, NY 10009, 212-865-5851

Native American / Indigenous People

Roberto Mendoza c/o Margo Adair, 349 Church St., San Francisco CA 94114



Re-evaluation Counseling

(This group did not meet at Eugene.)

*Barbara Harmony, Route 3 Box 720, Eureka Springs AR
72632, 501-253-9431.
Skip Mandler, PO Box 81828, Pittsburgh, PA 15217, 412-421-7854

No Statement

Non-functioning

The Finance Working Group has been integrated into General Economics I & II Working Group. Please send input to Economics.

(No statement was received from this group.)

Materials & Waste Management

Mark Clark, 1203 Lattie Lane, Mill Valley, CA 94941, 415-383-6632

REGIONAL GREEN GROUPS

UPDATED JANUARY 1990

Green Committees of Correspondence

Interregional Clearinghouse, P.O. Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112.
Jim Richmond, Coordinator (816-931-9366), Econet: gcoc

REGIONAL CONTACTS OF THE GREEN COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

NEW ENGLAND

CO-REGIONAL CONTACTS:

N.E. COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE (NE CoC)

Matthew Tilley (207-843-5269), 12 Acme Rd. #217, Brewer, ME 04412. Or Karen Tucker (207-774-4599), 28 Atlantic St., Portland, ME 04101.

N.E. GREEN ALLIANCE (NEGA), Howard Hawkins (802-293-1544), P.O. Box 703, White River Junction, VT 05001.

HUDSON VALLEY (NY, NJ)

NEW YORK CITY-LONG ISLAND

CO-REGIONAL CONTACTS:

NY GREEN PARTY, Lorna Salzman (718-522-6138), 29 Middagh St., Brooklyn, NY 11201.

NY GREEN NETWORK, Yanique Joseph (718-465-4683), PO Box 3134, NY, NY 10185.

INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND (NW NY, NW PENN., N. OHIO)

BUFFALO GREEN PARTY, Charlie Keil (716-636-2548), 81 Crescent Ave., Buffalo, NY 14214. Or Cyndi Cox (716-885-1815), 30 Mariner St., Buffalo, NY 14201. Or Andrew Goldstein (716-883-0211), 47 St. John's, Buffalo, NY 14201.

ALLEGHENY (NY, SW PENN., W. VA)

DELAWARE VALLEY (NJ, PA, DE)

DELAWARE VALLEY GREENS, Richard Myers (215-925-5435), 740 Catharine St., Philadelphia, PA 19147 or Clos Coltra (215-334-1189), 422 Catharine St., Philadelphia, PA 19147

CHESAPEAKE (DC., MD, VA, W.VA)

CHESAPEAKE BLUE RIDGE NETWORK, (Regional Contact), 7030 Carroll Ave., Suite 201, Takoma Park, MD 20910.

APPALACHIA (MD, VA, W.VA, NC, TN, KY.)

WOODLAND GREENS (Regional Contact), Steve Smith, P.O. Box 1101, Knoxville TN 37901.

CAROLINAS

ORANGE COUNTY GREEN COALITION, (Regional Contact), Dan Coleman (919-967-4690), 133 Windsor, Circle, Chapel

Hill, NC 27514.

DEEP SOUTH (GA, AL)

FLORIDA

TAMPA BAY GREENS, Bob Brister (813-822-5522), AFSC, Tampa Bay Area, 130-19th Ave. SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705.

OHIO (CENTRAL & SOUTHERN)

ANTIOCH/YELLOW SPRINGS GREENS (Regional Contact), Antioch College, c/o Joe Lowndes, Yellow Springs, OH 45387.

UPPER SOUTH (TN, KY, IN, IL)

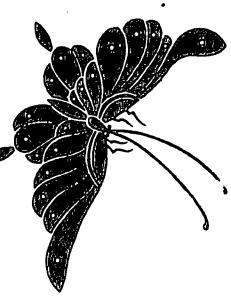
GREAT LAKES (MI)

SOUTHWEST MICHIGAN GREENS, Eric Nelson (616-649-1835), 10301 Sprinkle R.1, Vicksburg, MI 49097.

MIDWEST (INDIANA, IOWA, ILLINOIS & E. MO.)

GATEWAY GREEN ALLIANCE, Gil Williams (314-647-6815), 6458 Lloyd Ave, St. Louis, MO 63139. Or Michelle Brandt (314-968-4491), Green Resource Center c/o The Book House, 9719 Manchester, St. Louis, MO 63119.

continues on p. 44



We welcome unsolicited submissions of art, poetry, articles and ideas. We will return unsolicited items we receive if they are accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. If possible, please send articles on computer disk. Preferred format is on Macintosh 3.5" disks, Microsoft Word, MacWrite, WordPerfect or text only. We can also accept MS-DOS formats, on either 3.5" or 5.25" disks, including WordPerfect, Microsoft Word, XYWrite, Multimatic and ASCII. This is all in rough order of preference.



Credits:

Cover graphic, buffalo on page 8 and "Buying Time" on page 14 by Jimmie Durham. Copyright © 1990, by Jimmie Durham. Reprinted with permission from Columbus Day is Albuquerque, NM 87125. Columbus Day is currently out of print, but scheduled for reprinting in Fall, 1990. Jimmie Durham is a graphic artist, cultural organizer and poet, living in Cuernavaca, and devoting energy to exploring themes related to the quincentennial and colonization of America.

About Green Letter Production:

Pulling together each issue of this paper is a labor of love which is highly labor intensive. We are a volunteer effort, and all income is devoted to much-needed equipment, supplies, and expenses such as mail, phone, printing, etc. The Green Letter Collective has six people in it. Each week we put in an average of 10 to 15 hours each, totaling some 75 hours. When it is all added up that's nearly 1000 hours per issue, not counting the help we get from others.

To make our work more manageable, please remember us! Send us your ideas, graphics, poetry and articles. Put us on your local's mailing list.

It cuts down on our work enormously if you send your material on computer disk along with 2 hard copies of your submissions. We are always caught in the bind of being absolutely dependent on your submissions and never being able to run everything we get. We need to extend both our appreciation for all that we get and our apologies to those of you whose work we are unable to run. Please understand if we have not responded to submissions which we don't use: until such time as we can afford to pay for clerical help, this is beyond our capabilities.



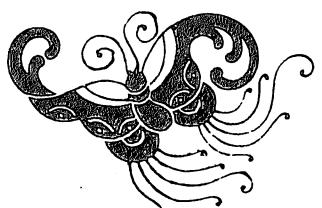
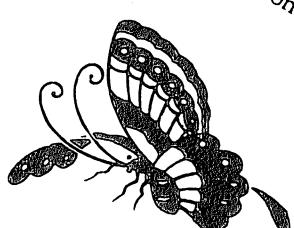
Corrections

Our apologies to readers and to R. Diggs, creator of the cartoon "Green Spot." Last issue we inadvertently switched the order of the strips on pages 28 and 34.
Sorry! In the rush to meet our production deadline, in the Spring 1990 issue of Green Letter, we neglected to include the "Hodge-Podge" page in the table of contents. We hope nobody was confused by this omission.



The Hodge-Podge Page

Green Letter is published quarterly. Our next issue will focus on the theme of Movement Building. We expect to come out in July in order to mesh with the timing of the on-going development process of the Green CoC Program (see "SPAKA" on p. 45).



Letter to our readers

continued from inside front cover

Green Letter and *In Search of Greener Times* (the GCoC organizational newsletter) have been coming out together since 1986. These were two separate papers that were produced and distributed together.

With the recent resignation of *In Search of Greener Times* (GT) editor John Pennington, the *Green Letter* Collective, which had previously collaborated in the production of GT, has been formally entrusted with the continuation of the GCoC newspaper. We have decided to try out a new way of organizing the format of the papers to make the finished product easier to read and simpler to produce, but even more importantly, to develop further a paper which serves to expand our movement and enables us to be more effective organizers. *Green Letter In Search of Greener Times* serves the dual purpose of being an insider's paper, and giving public voice to the Greens. By giving a view of the inside to the outside, we hope to inspire the outside to move in!

Distributors have come to us wanting to carry the paper. We believe it will help to build the movement and facilitate the spread of Green values if we expand the readership through newsstand distribution. More people will have the opportunity to find out what we are doing, and be inspired to join in and contribute to the transformation of our country through Green organizing. There-

fore we redesigned the cover and combined the two titles for newsstand distribution—having two titles on the cover has been confusing enough for the membership of the GCoC; the public would surely find it perplexing!

We have redesigned the interior as well: instead of two separate papers, each with its own masthead, we have divided the paper into areas, such as theme articles, international stories, and a section dedicated to news and views by, for and about the efforts of the GCoC itself. This is where you'll find all local, regional, interregional and clearinghouse reports, activities of the working groups, and developments regarding the next national conference.

John Pennington did an enormous amount of work in the development of GT, for which we are all grateful. One of his main contributions was developing a long list of regular correspondents. We will continue to publish their contributions. All GT correspondents will be noted. We welcome new correspondents joining us.

John also greatly broadened the scope of GT's coverage of developments in the International Green movement, an area which *Green Letter* had already been covering. The combined resources of *Green Letter* and *In Search of Greener Times* will enable us to increase the quality and consistency of our international reporting.

We welcome feedback on these changes. It is our hope that they will contribute to a healthy and continuing growth of the Greens in the USA!

—GL



Green Letter in search of Greener Times needs your support. Please subscribe! A one year subscription to *Green Letter* is \$20 within the United States, \$30 outside. Additional donations always welcome and needed. All contributions are tax-deductible.

Members of the Green Committees of Correspondence (GCoC) receive *Green Letter* and *Green Synthesis* free with their memberships. The GCoC Clearinghouse performs a vital function in providing a focus for Green activity and for the interchange of Green information throughout the continent and the world. It is always hampered by insufficient funds. You can help the Greens with our work by joining the GCoC directly (\$25 to GCoC Clearinghouse, PO Box 30208, Kansas City MO 64112), by joining your nearest GCoC group, or by subscribing to *Green Letter*. For local contacts, please see page 69 inside.

Subscription Form for *Green Letter*:

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Enclosed you will find my contribution for:

\$20 \$30 \$50 \$100

Please make your check for \$20 or more payable to "The Tides Foundation/Green Letter."

Mail to: *Green Letter*, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114

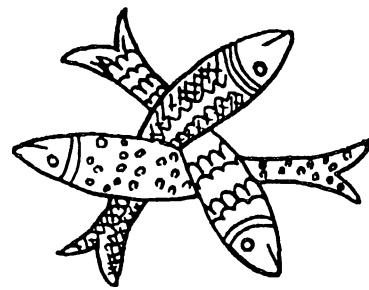
Whoever invented the fishfinger

Whoever invented the fishfinger
ought to be transmogrified
skinned mashed and boxed
into uniform blocks
then covered in breadcrumbs
from collar to socks
then frozen and finally fried.



Because who'd do that to a fish
finning its way through the sea
colors in harmony, perfectly poised
riding its flying trapeze?

And progress is all very well
but not when it chops up our dreams
and it's hard to feel at ease in the world
when nothing is what it seems.



Whoever invented the policeman
ought to be licked into shape
toughened and trained
'til the body's a cane
'til the arms are a chain
'til the nerves feel no pain
'til obedience rules and encircles the brain
with walls so he'll never escape.

Because who'd do that to a child
jumping with joy and desire
floating in fantasies, drowning in dreams
brimming with feelings of fire?

And progress is all very well
but not when it locks up our dreams
and it's hard to feel at ease in the world
when nothing is what it seems.

Because who'd do that to a tree
raising its head to the sky
rooted in centuries, telling tall tales
breathing a green lullaby?

And progress is all very well
but not when it chops down our dreams
and it's hard to feel at ease in the world
when nothing is what it seems.



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Leon Rosselson's music is available from good record shops or by mail order from:
Fuse Records, 28 Park Chase, Wembley Park, Middlesex HA9 8EH. CD
£10.00; Cassette £6.00 (inc. P&P)

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